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KYRGYZSTAN SPECIAL

Kyrgyzstan on the Eve of the 21st Century

Askar Akaev

Administrative Reforms in the Kyrgyz Republic

K.M. Jumaliev

The Political Culture in Kyrgyzstan

A. Dononbaev

Ethno-Political Boundaries of Kyrgyzstan

N. Karimbekova

On the Trail of Silk Route

K. Warikoo

**Kyrgyzstan on the Great Silk Road and
Cultural Relationship with India**

V. Voropoeva and V. Goryacheva

Human Activities in the Mountains of Central Asia

A.A. Aidaraliev

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Editor's Page

Kyrgyzstan – the land of Tien Shan is a land-locked country having coterminous borders with Tajikistan, Kazakhstan and Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region of China. After having gained independence in August 1991 following the collapse of the former Soviet Union, Kyrgyzstan chose the path of democratic civil society based on market reforms. The country has been passing through a delicate phase of transforming into a new political, social and economic order. That nearly 94 per cent of the territory of Kyrgyzstan has altitudes of more than 1000 meters above sea level and about 40 per cent of the area is more than 3000 meters above sea level, imparts its own peculiarities of a nomadic society having a distinct philosophy and traditions of mountains. The United Nations bodies have time and again underlined the importance of maintaining the eco-cultural system of the mountainous regions which are the rich and unique centres of biological and cultural diversity with plenty of hydel power and mineral resources. It is against this backdrop that this Kyrgyzstan Special issue of *Himalayan and Central Asian Studies* is being brought out. It is a matter of gratification and fulfilment of its purpose for the Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation that a galaxy of political leaders of Kyrgyzstan, Askar Akaev, the President, K.M. Jumaliev, Prime Minister, M. Imanaliev, Foreign Minister, S.J. Toktomyshev, Minister for Education, Science and Culture; diplomats and strategic analysts like Dr. O. Ibraimov, Dr. A. Dononbaev, Dr. N. Karimbekova; academicians / scientists Prof. A.A. Aidaraliev, Prof. A. Kakeev, Prof. V.K. Semyonov, Prof. V. Ploskikh, Dr. V. Voropoeva, Dr. V. Goryacheva have contributed their learned papers to this special issue, sharing their thoughts and experiences.

President Akaev has expressed confidence that Kyrgyzstan will develop as a democratic society after the success of political, economic and social reforms, as outlined by him in his paper. Jumaliev, the Prime Minister has stressed the need for administrative reforms by improving the system of state management with the introduction of information and telecommunication technology, local self-government and appropriate personnel policies. Dononbaev seeks to explain the paradox of inconformity between the democratic institutions of state governance and the traditional behaviour of the people manning such institutions. He compares the traditional authoritarian political culture in Central Asia to the nomadic society of Kyrgyzstan which provides a basis for relatively freer attitudes. Since clan and tribal loyalties are strong in nomadic societies, there is a tendency for distribution of power and patronage on the basis of clan or tribal linkages, which can lead to conflict for power among different clans or regions. The Foreign Minister, Imanaliev stresses the importance of Kyrgyzstan-India cooperation in political, economic and cultural spheres. Karimbekova sheds interesting light on the historical geography of Kyrgyzstan and the formation of Kyrgyz ethnos and state. She also delves deep into the complicated issues of historical ties between the Yenisei and Tien Shan Kyrgyz tribes. Ibraimov recapitulates the pain and suffering of Kyrgyzs who took part in the 1916 uprising against the Tsarist regime.

Kyrgyzstan's ancient Silk Route connections with India have been established on the basis of archeological sites existent in Naviket, Sujab, Ak Beshim, Balasaghun etc. in Kyrgyzstan, by Voropoeva and Goryacheva. Few Buddhist images (VII-VIII century A.D.) found in Naviket town 35 kms. away from Bishkek, are preserved and displayed in the Archeological Museum of Kyrgyz Slavonic University and Historical Museum in Bishkek.

That Naviket resembles the finds in Ajna Tepe, Fayaz Tepe, Kara Tepe and Merv in other Central Asian Republics, offers the conclusive evidence of close historico-cultural links between India and Central Asia. Warikoo recounts his experiences of travels in Kyrgyzstan on the trail of the old Silk Route. That *Manas*, the national epic of Kyrgyzstan was even known beyond its borders in India in medieval times, has been the main focus of Ploskikh's paper.

The peculiarities of political culture and socio-economic trends in Kyrgyzstan owing to its mountainous character have been highlighted by Academician Kakeev. Having been subject to the influences of Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Islam, Marxism and now democracy, the Kyrgyzs retain their original indigenous culture based on mountain philosophy. Academician Aidaraliev stresses the importance of mountain regions in the 21st century and calls for working out a national policy on mountain territory development. Toktomyshev and Semyonov point to the alarming trend of depletion of ozone layer and formation of local ozone hole in mountainous region of Central Asia, based on the results of research at the Issyk Kul Station.

Given the proximity of Kyrgyzstan to India and close historico-cultural ties dating back to ancient times, India and Kyrgyzstan need to concretise their programmes of socio-economic and cultural cooperation. That there is enough goodwill at the popular level on both sides and there is perfect political understanding between the two governments on issues of common concern, provides a sound basis for forging ahead India-Kyrgyzstan ties in the twenty first century.

K. Warikoo

KYRGYZSTAN ON THE EVE OF THE TWENTY FIRST CENTURY : PRINCIPAL TRENDS OF REFORMS

Askar Akaev

The Kyrgyz Republic is situated in Central Asia at the crossroads of ancient civilizations. The country is being influenced by various political, economic and socio-cultural systems and also by diverse external and internal factors. The end of the present century has been a landmark for the Kyrgyz people. On 31 August 1991 the Parliament of the Kyrgyz Republic adopted the Declaration of the Independence of the Kyrgyz Republic. The country has chosen the path of democracy, secularism and peace.

Our people are experiencing difficulties in the process of modernization. They do deserve a right to independence in their decision making. The way of securing such independence is to go through trials and errors and to overcome critical breaks in former social ties. In order to come out of the difficult economic situation and to achieve macro-economic stabilization, Kyrgyzstan has started looking for new ideas and goals. Now the ultimate objective is that Kyrgyzstan must become a developed country in the 21st century. This objective was stated in the National Strategies of Human Development, which was adopted in 1997. The model of National Development has been determined and at present is in the process of being developed.

POLITICAL REFORMS

We have chosen a political system based on a democratic, secular and republican form of government as it guarantees individual freedom and people's development and secures sustainability and safety. The foundation for a civic society, based on the rule of law, has thus been laid. The Republic has undertaken the obligation to follow the modern rules of international law. The laws of protecting human rights and independent decision-making in national, political and religious spheres have priority over others.

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At the same time, the transition from the former totalitarian system to a new democratic one is rather long. The lack of state democratic traditions, conditioned by the specific character of historical development, the peculiarities of people's mentality, the low level of political culture of the population, and the total immaturity of legal and civilian institutions reflect the state of political structures in the Republic. That is why the problems of political reforms are so vital, so necessary for the stabilization process. And certainly the problem of development and strengthening of legal democratic institutions, and the neutralization of negative tendencies call for urgent attention of our state.

Today there is no more important task than the strengthening of the structures of the political system, in order to increase stability and development in the community. And this is lawful under conditions of the beginning of the new history of Kyrgyzstan. Sovereign Kyrgyzstan has determined the path of its development, as well as the basis of its own state establishment, in tune with the realities of market relations and existing cultural traditions. For further strengthening of political relations at least three inter-related tasks must be settled :

Firstly, deepening the political reforms, forming and strengthening the structures of the political system and its institutions;

Secondly, consolidating the democratic character of the state and government to meet the objective of political reforms;

Thirdly, analysing the results of reforms and also the trends in the development of the political system.

In this sense, for us, the close connection between forming a civil society and a legal state is very important. These are two sides of the process of development of the Republic and political structure of Kyrgyzstan. On the eve of 1996, the functional division of authority between various branches was mostly completed. Priorities of political reforms, ways of their development and control over their fulfillment were defined.

After the adoption of amendments and changes to the Constitution of the Republic, elections to the *Jogorku Kenesh* and of the President were held and a new political and legal state was set up. Thus evolved a

new, changed form of government, which can be described as a legitimate Presidential Republic. A qualitative renovation of legislation and of legislative work of the government bodies has been part of the legal reforms, which includes the following priorities:

Firstly, obedience to law is assumed, i.e., a strict fulfillment and observance of legal norms not only under the threat of inevitable punishment, but also following the principle of established social rules and obligations. Nobody can be above the law and all citizens are equal before the law.

Secondly, legislation is a continuous process, which is determined by the principles of common sense and rationality. Advance planning of bill preparation is essential in this important branch of the government.

Thirdly, “Center-region”, “Center-branch”, “State-citizen” relationships, concerning the control over the execution of laws should be balanced to such an extent that the subjects and the objects of the legal reform are mutually responsible.

On the whole, the reformed two-chamber Parliament be more capable of functioning. The legal foundation, which was enriched by Kyrgyzstan’s own experience and by the experience of other countries, has been substantially broadened and strengthened. An example of this is inter-parliamentary ties between India and Kyrgyzstan. Last year the Indian Speaker of the Parliament, Mr. P.A. Sangma, invited Deputies of the *Jogorku Kenesh* to visit India. Parliamentarians had an opportunity to share their experiences. The delegation held meetings with the President and the Prime Minister of India, with the members of the Cabinet of Ministers, with the representatives of Indian States in Jaipur, Agra and Mumbai and with the representatives of Indian businessmen. Deputies of Kyrgyzstan accepted the offer of the Indian side to establish a permanent inter-parliamentary group for discussing the questions of mutually beneficial trade, scientific and cultural cooperation and attracting investments.

Substantial changes have taken place in the activity of the executive branch of the government too. New leaders, shaping the spheres of governmental influence have emerged. This refers to the Ministry of

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Economics and Finance (indicative planning, budget programming, planning management), to National Bank (new two-level system), to the Ministry of State Securities (fighting against economic crimes, corruption), to tax services and other structures. These have been formed to deal with the social concerns. Programs and organizational meetings on overcoming poverty, which have been accepted by the highest structures of power, are oriented towards a complex approach. It is important that this works in practice and in all regions.

The organs of regional self-rule have appeared, strengthening the lower level links in the power network. The task is to bring power nearer to citizens, to mobilize local participation in the production of institutional wealth, and acceptance of responsibility for continuing reforms in all spheres of work in the regions.

Judicial power has become stronger. Judicial reform is being activated. A new group of judges has been formed and a new law project about the status of judges is being prepared. Decisions about strengthening the defence of citizen's rights are being accepted. In general, positive processes and developments in the economy, have led to political stabilization. Institutes of trade relations have been developed to stimulate the economic activities of the population. State power has become more stable, and the state has become more manageable. Judicial base has been created, which strengthens the procedures of state management.

The democratic orientation of Republic gives powers of social organisation to influence the course of events and also a chance to fulfill its activities. The Republic has the intellectual potential to reach these goals.

Political interests are being structured to achieve greater interaction between the society, state and private organisations in regions, by

- (a) orientation of economic development toward greater socialization,
- (b) liberalization of markets and modernization of country on this basis,
- (c) creating an environment of stability for existing political governance.

There is opposition to the ruling party but it is not coordinated. There are more than 20 political parties and 700 non-governmental organisations.

Some of them have their representatives in the two Chambers of Parliament. The Communist Party has the most powerful social base. On the whole, the process of development of system is taking its first steps. The parties and non-governmental organizations, because of insufficient maturity and activity, are more likely to play the role of a political pressure group.

To support pluralism in society, alternative ideas about prospective ways of development for Kyrgyzstan help us to see our mistakes and achievements, to correct mistakes and in the final analysis, help to create democratic reforms.

As regards the fourth estate, there are a large number of print media outlets. An important step in this process was the law on Mass Media, by which censure was prohibited. Foreign experts say that Kyrgyz Republic is in the list of countries with independent press. Certainly there are difficulties. The meaning of "Freedom of Speech" is interpreted as all permissiveness by separate independent relationships between mass media and society to become civilized.

Horizontal and vertical structures of power have been created besides strengthening the domestic self-control system. The future of our children, and grand children, as well as the place of Kyrgyzstan and its reputation in the world society largely depend on how strong the system of governing and the governed will be.

We may confidently state that on the eve of independence itself, "democracy" was at work in the Kyrgyz Republic. But we also understand that large scale unemployment and poverty have overshadowed the democratic achievements, the Republic has acquired in recent years. Our new life reveals the emergence of new contradictions as both the general population as well as state organs have been going through a difficult time in adopting the market economy.

We take into consideration these circumstances, while thoroughly studying the economic, social and political aspects of the decisions undertaken in the Kyrgyz Republic.

ECONOMIC REFORMS

After the proclamation of independence, the Kyrgyz Republic was in a difficult economic situation. In fact, this was the consequence of the breakdown of the totalitarian system the country had witnessed under the Soviet Union. The collapse of the Soviet Union led to the breakdown of cooperative relations between economic entities. Activities of many enterprises got fully or partially paralyzed. The loss of markets in the Soviet Union and also changes in the internal demand structure led to a significant decline in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Severe decline had occurred in 1993 when GDP decreased by more than 25%.

The Kyrgyz Republic too, like all other states of the CIS, implemented thorough going economic reforms. These have covered major areas and are targetted to decrease the inflation level, stabilize national currency and reduce budget deficit, besides aiming at restructuring of management of sick enterprises, demonopolization of different sectors of economy, execution of tasks set for state privatization programme, further liberalization of prices and external economic activities, strengthening of social security etc.

At the same time, with liberalization of prices, institutional reforms too began taking place. But due to the novelty and complexity of the process of reforms, the first privatization program (1991-1993) was carried out on legislative and normative basis. This was especially seen part of the privatization process of large enterprises.

Reorganization of business objects, catering and social services in terms of so-called "smaller privatization" was relatively successful. In these sectors of the economy, privatization was implemented under simple arrangements based on auctions, competitions and direct sales. Destruction of state monopoly in the sphere of commerce and services as well as creation of a competitive environment and the elimination of commodities deficit were positive results of the "smaller privatization." However, it could not solve the problem of state property reorganization as a whole.

In 1992, realization of mass privatization programme was launched. But at the moment, we are still waiting for the implementation of reforms

in the middle-sized and large state enterprises, as well as creation of a more efficient mechanism to reorganize the unprofitable enterprises. Great attention will be paid to the provision of investment attractiveness in the enterprises, protection of shareholders, development of corporate administration mechanism and provision of free redistribution of the rights to participate in the joint-capital stock of the companies.

A significant result of the state property reorganization in the Republic is the formation of the non-public sector, which is an actual basis for market relations in the economy. The non-public sector brings about changes in the stereotype economic behaviour of the enterprises.

Financial and Credit Sector Liberalization

In May 1993, Kyrgyzstan became one of the first countries to quit from the “ruble zone,” introducing its own national currency—the Kyrgyz Som (KGZ). This has helped Kyrgyzstan to follow its own independent financial and monetary policy as well as handle the overall economic situation. As a result, inflation rate began to decrease thereby giving a boost to economy suited to the ongoing market conditions.

At the same time, a reform programme has also been carried out in the banking sector. The programme set the task for the establishment of a dual banking system and liberalization of the commercial banks' establishment order. Within a short period of time, the number of commercial banks in Kyrgyzstan increased. However, commercial banks, especially those that emerged from the former industrial-type state bank following monetary plans of the government and the central bank, still remained the direct channels of credits for the economy. Later these banks were liquidated and reorganized in order to improve the financial system. Kyrgyzstan is the only country among the post-Soviet states, which decided to liquidate the State savings bank. A project on the creation of a deposit insurance system is being worked out. The introduction of this scheme will be the next step in reforming the financial system. As of now people's trust in the state can be seen by an overwhelming increase in the deposits.

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Liberalization of domestic market in the Kyrgyz Republic had already started during the Soviet time and by the middle of 1994 it was almost completed. Within this period, prices of the majority of items were liberalized while subsidies on bread production were liquidated. A number of monopolistic businesses, which had accounted for 35% of the domestic market, were also restricted. Now, control over prices of these enterprises is being maintained.

Foreign Trade Liberalization

The foreign trade regime of the Kyrgyz Republic has been considered as the most liberal among the CIS countries. Political decisions about implementation of foreign trade liberalization were affected by trade traditions of the Kyrgyz people whose territory was a part of the Great Silk Road. The aspiration to implement a model of an open economy with the free flow of goods, services and capital also had an impact on making those decisions. Licensing of exports and imports includes only eight items adopted from international practice : weapons, drugs and pharmaceuticals, precious metals, works of art etc.

In May 1994, a unified import duty of 10% was imposed on foreign trade. The list of goods subjected to this duty was further reduced and by the beginning of 1996 it was totally scrapped. Kyrgyzstan joined the Customs Union of Russia, Belorussia and Kazakhstan, which allowed the abolition of many restrictions in trade being carried out among the states, apart from making the imports cheaper and stimulating the exports. The open economy has helped to boost the market and avoid the deficit. At the same time, a competitive environment for domestic firms is growing in order to increase production, improve the quality of products and decrease its base price, and also study the market conditions to get access to the market.

The Macroeconomic Situation

The decrease in the GNP in 1994 was 20.1%. Adversely affected were those branches which were directly oriented to the population's final demand and were related to capital investments. The drop was less significant in such branches which found new markets not only inside the Republic but also outside. As a result, percentage of these branches

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increased and the percentage of units producing finished goods decreased. This decline in the industrial production was due to the following reasons :

- (a) Liberalization of prices led to increase in inflation, costs and prices of goods,
- (b) Destruction of economic relations, loss of export markets and changes in the structure of demand in the domestic market,
- (c) Absence of incentives for the manufacturers of export items.

**Dynamics of Main Macroeconomic Indices
(Change in % age during 1993-1997)**

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Gross Domestic Product	84.5	79.9	94.6	105.6	110.4
Volume of industrial production	75.4	72.1	82.2	110.8	135.7
Gross agriculture product	90.2	81.5	98.0	113.1	110.7
Capital investment (including all forms of financing)	77.4	55.4	180.5	106.5	64.7
Retail commodity circulation	89.9	95.6	94.0	101.9	108.6
Inflation rate	1,466.0	187.2	131.9	134.9	114.8

At present, we can say that Kyrgyzstan is the leader among all the Central Asian countries in the field of reforming and introducing market mechanism in its economy. According to *Financial Times*, an authoritative source of information, Kyrgyzstan ranks 14th among twenty countries of the world which are credited with having a high rate of economic growth.

The achievement of macroeconomic stability and the meaningful liberalization of the economy has allowed us to shift to the next stage of transitional process, i.e., the privatization of strategically important areas and their structural reorganization.

Efforts at keeping the national currency stable have been successful during the previous stage of transitional process. Moreover, fiscal policy

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gradually undertaken by the fiscal bodies helped in decreasing the rate of inflation from 1466% in 1993 to 114.8% in 1997.

The financial year 1996-97 became more crucial in the restructuring of Kyrgyzstan's economy. Whereas in the last five years the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) declined by 1.5 times, during 1996 the production rate increased. The GDP was recorded as 22,467.8 million Soms, an increase by 105.6%. The gross industrial product went up to 110.8% and the gross product of agriculture to 113.1%. The budget deficit went down to 5.6% of the GDP. In 1997 there was a further increase in the GDP. Thus, in comparison to the 1996, GDP in 1997 went up to 110.4% and amounted to 30,438 million Soms. The budget deficit went down to 4.7% of the GDP. In 1998, the government is planning to decline the offer of funds from the National Bank of the Kyrgyz Republic, which are used to meet the budget deficit.

Positive changes in the essential economic spheres are the basis for the improvement of macroeconomic exponents. In 1997, the growth in the Gross Industrial Product reached 135.7% as against the projected 124% in the plan. On the whole, the industrial growth has been secured at the expense of production from the Chummier Gold Mine company, Kara Blat Mining company, Jalalabad oil refineries, etc. This shows that the production investment of the last two years has directly contributed to the industrial growth.

The agro industry has also performed well with a high level of growth for the second year in a row. In 1996, it registered a growth of 113.1% while in 1997 it was recorded at 110.7%, which was 10 point higher than that indicated in the plan. Specific crops which achieved higher growth than what was foreseen included grains (almost 300 thousand tons), potatoes (118 thousand tons), and vegetables (105 thousand tons). The stable growth of agricultural production for a period of two years has had positive influence in Kyrgyzstan. On the whole, in the agrarian sector the average price increased by 10% in comparison with previous year's 38.6% and in industry alone by 5.9% as compared to 29.8%.

For the whole year, the nominal GDP remained 30,438 billion Soms or about 2 billion more than what was indicated in the plan. The contribution

of the agrarian sector is still dominant and constitutes more than 43%, while the service sector contributes to about 30% and industry 15.5%.

The situation in the financial credit sphere in the Republic is characterized by overall positive trends of development and stability. During 1997, in comparison with previous years, the inflation rate sharply decreased to 114.8%. The success in decreasing the inflation rate was due to the realization of financial credit policies and the policy of import substitution with locally produced goods. In the same year certain improvements have been noticed in the financial condition of most of the commercial banks. However, the problem of unprofitability in the commercial banking system has not been resolved. According to the data, within eight months of 1997 it had reached up to 30%.

The predominant activities of commercial banks are to provide short term loans, currency operations and operations with securities. But the latter do not play a significant role in financing state budget deficit. A relatively small cash increase positively affected the dynamics of inflation and exchange rate of Som. For the period 1996-97, a decrease of 55% in the nominal exchange rate of the Som to the dollar pushed the increase of consumer prices by 54.9%. However, during 1997, the exchange rate depreciated only by 3.4%, thereby leading to 114.8% inflation rate.

According to January-November 1997 data, in comparison with the corresponding period of 1996, the exports from the Republic grew by 14.7% while imports were reduced by 18.8%. The deficit reduction in the trading balance allowed the National Bank of the Kyrgyz Republic to increase its foreign currency reserves and carry out an active policy on the exchange market. The data shows that the deficit of the current account in the balance of payments was 79.4 million U.S. dollars. This constituted three times less than what it was in the first half of 1996. And with regard to GDP, the deficit was approximately 15% to 38%.

As a positive tendency, it is essential to mention that there has been a growth of trust towards the banking system among the Kyrgyz population. Within 10 months of 1997, the increase in deposits reached 306.7 million Soms or 116.4%. This allowed the banks to enlarge their credit resources.

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Thus, the macroeconomic situation in 1997 was characterized by further economic growth. This situation was well supported by relatively small inflation rates, a stable exchange rate of Som, reasonable figures of the state budget deficit and trading balance and the debt reduction in social payments.

The goals and tasks set for the economic strategy are aimed at saving the main principles of macroeconomic policy of the previous phase along with a great emphasis on active structural policy by regulating not only the demand, but first and foremost, the supply. The creation of conditions for domestic manufacturers to compete with imported products of analogous assignment and appropriate modernization of technical knowhow supposed to be necessary for executing a flexible mercantile policy. We contemplate to carry out this policy until the year 2000, with provision for incentives to defend domestic markets from poor commodities and support our own manufacturers of competitive products.

SOCIAL REFORMS

For us, the social sphere has always been a top priority. In spite of all economic complexity, we have managed to keep it in order and today we aspire to continue with enforceable social reforms in a dynamic way which could hold the principles of integral approach. However, market conditions, deliverance from excessive bureaucracy and orientation towards human demands have been kept in mind while launching the reform process in the social sphere. The conceptual basis of this new social policy has been described in the National Strategy of the Kyrgyz Republic for the steady human development. The most valuable asset of any country is the purposeful, qualified and healthy people. They initiate the process of development and use their potential for supporting the concept of equality, political stability, social harmony and economic development. However, social development involves an array of other aspects as well. I would like to emphasize some of them.

Education

We all had been students. Many of us continue to be students throughout our life. Therefore, the question of education is no more

apathetic. People say: “Where there is unity, there is power, there is freedom, there is knowledge”. The sphere of education involves almost every fourth citizen of the Republic. It is pleasing to note that the education in recent times has again come into the focus of attention. Our youth as the most important part of our population are determined to receive the high quality of education which would help them to play a key role in future. There is also no doubt that competitiveness on the labour market in the 21st century will be determined by education and the ability to use it. The potential, which we were able to save, has allowed the system of education not only to survive in the difficult economic condition during the transition period, but also to grow.

During the years of independence, more than 180 new secondary schools were established and by 1997 the number reached to 1,940. The number of students also increased sharply from 0.9 million in 1990 to 1 million 49 thousand in 1997. In addition to the traditional public educational institutions, there are about 70 lyceums and gymnasia and more than 20 private and government aided schools and museums. It is now an important task for us to not only maintain but also raise the level of education in Kyrgyzstan. For this purpose, legislative guarantees and multi-level educational system have already been created. In the past few years, along with governmental educational institutions, more than 12 non-governmental educational institutions have also been established.

At present, many Kyrgyz students are also studying in colleges in USA, Turkey, Russia, France, Japan, Germany, China and India. In fact, realization of the *Bilim* (Knowledge) and “Specialists of the 21st Century” programmes, which are aimed at increasing the quality and effectiveness of education, have started to bear their first fruit. Under the “Specialists of the 21st Century” programme alone, more than 2000 students are getting their higher education.

Several higher educational institutions have also been created with the help of international aid. These are the Kyrgyz-Russian (Slavonic) University, the Kyrgyz-Turkish University and the American University in Kyrgyzstan. The adoption of a programme for the computerisation of educational institutions has further strengthened the overall educational

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system. As a result, a number of Kyrgyz higher educational institutions have become prominent in the CIS. The institutions which have been equipped with computers include the International University of Kyrgyzstan, Kyrgyz State National University and Kyrgyz-Russian (Slavonic) University.

Although, efforts are being made to preserve and improve the sphere of education, I would not like to create an illusion about its well being. Since the quality of education suffered a lot during the transition period, the most urgent task today we have, is to improve the quality of education in every possible manner.

Human Health : Concern for All

Over the past several years, demographic indices have witnessed a deteriorating health care system. The birth rate, population growth and average life expectancy have decreased sharply while the death rate has increased. Nevertheless, we have now overcome the worst period. Starting from the year 1996, the demographic indices have been showing a sign of stability and there has been a tendency towards growth in life expectancy (0.6 years average) and reduction in the overall death rate. However, we are still worried about the spread of cardio-vascular diseases, acute epidemic conditions and an increase in the number of other infectious diseases. It makes us very sad when we see high maternal and infant death rates. Such health care problems have increased the activity in reforming the most vital sector of social sphere. As a result, a strategy of the reform has been described in the “Manas” Programme which provides the creation of an insurance model of financing as well as transition to a family health care system. We are trying to improve the quality of medical services to be provided to the population in order to ensure them a better and longer live. In 1997, we had started a gradual implementation of the system of obligatory medical insurance for the citizens, which will be completed by the year 1999.

The results of such reforms are now showing that we are on the right direction. It is true that the government should take care of its citizens, but the latter should also ensure to keep their health well.

Overcoming Poverty

Another important problem is poverty. That is why, today's main priority of all economic, financial and social reforms is to improve the standard of living. In order to eradicate poverty, a national programme *Araket* was initiated, followed by the creation of a National Commission and a National Fund on the regional basis. Since three quarters of the poor population are living in rural areas, the growth of their standard of living directly depends on agricultural production. Therefore, the year 1998 was announced as "Rural Areas Development Year". To achieve its goals *Araket* has initiated several activities. However, improving the standard of living and minimising poverty will be achieved only through active social policy and protecting the socially vulnerable population of our Republic.

Social Protection

The conflict between widening social care for the majority of the Republic and the simultaneous economic possibilities of the national budget to satisfy those needs requires fundamental changes in the whole system of social protection. For social protection, basic principles of state guarantee of social standards of living and lending support to the most socially vulnerable lot of the population, need to be followed. Several measures have been adopted like "Social Fund", "Social Insurance", "Pension Funds" etc., but we have to do more in this direction.

Pre-requisites have already been created to form a basis for direct provision of social help, development of legislation in this sphere as well as practical realization of decisions already made.

In the sphere of social protection, we must do the following :

- increase substantially the level of management and coordination of work among all units of authority and social services;
- create conditions for adaptation, which could help to transfer our social policy into the principles of market economy, at the same time taking into consideration the protection of interests of every person;

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- form a legislative base which would allow reform in the social sphere dynamically without delay;
- create effective fiscal mechanism which would stimulate improvement of the quality of human resources.

Nowadays our country spends a substantial part of its budget for social needs and so it doesn't have the opportunity to further increase the subsidies. That's why, the main aim is to ensure that the money given by the state should be used economically. Regarding this issue, the role and importance of state administration at the local level and local forms of social self-organization are increasing.

It has already been mentioned that the majority of poor people in Kyrgyzstan live in rural areas. International and domestic experiences have shown that assistance to develop agriculture as well as microcredits to entrepreneurs help a lot in the process of increasing the income of rural population and generating employment. But at the same time, they require minimum expenses. All these actions decrease the level of vulnerability not only for socially unprotected groups, but also the nation as a whole.

Thus, we find following priorities to be addressed as our social policy:

- a) decreasing and overcoming poverty as a social phenomenon;
- b) increasing the quality of human resources;
- c) creating an effective working system for providing social protection to the population.

There is a strong connection between these aims. Can we believe that the struggle with poverty will be carried out successfully without creating an effective working system of social protection, without improving social potentials and without getting involved into the social sphere of the market economy? The answer must be 'no' and that's why social policy, its direction, aims and tasks have now become the defining issues which affect the destiny of all citizens.

KYRGYZSTAN'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

This year Kyrgyzstan will be celebrating seventh year of its independence. During these seven years the country has succeeded in presenting itself to the world as a part of human civilization which is on its way to development trying to find out its place as a democratic, secular and peaceful state. The Kyrgyz Republic has shown itself as a reliable partner and responsible participant of many international organizations. On the perimeter of its borders, it has formed a belt of good-neighbourliness and friendship. Moreover, absence of territorial, political and other disputes with any one, has provided opportunities to open new partnership with different countries. All these principles have become the basis of the foreign policy of Kyrgyzstan, which helps the Republic to move forward step by step towards establishing itself within the world community and integrating into various activities.

Participating in the integration process of Central Asia is one of the main priorities for us. This is more so because of the common history of destinies, geographical situation, economic, scientific and cultural ties which have been developed for decades, and common social and economic problems which are being solved currently.

An ever lasting treaty of friendship with Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan as well as a treaty for creating one economic zone have been signed. In future, the Central Asian Union can help not only in bringing about the intensification of multi-party cooperation among Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, but also it can become a geo-economic bridge between the West and the East.

However, opportunities and prospects of integration in Central Asia completely depend on strengthening peace and security. This question remains open on a regional as well as national level, and in the long run will play an important part in the collective security of the CIS and the international social security.

In recent years, the countries of Central Asia have been successful in holding off some military conflicts coming from Tajikistan and Afghanistan. According to the statement of Collective Security signed in

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1992 by Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, our Republic is cooperating with other participants of the agreement. Kyrgyzstan also agreed to extend the term of their stay on the Tadjik-Afghan border until June 1998. Kyrgyzstan always tried to do everything in order to maintain peace and stability in the region. And that is how the Agreement of Reconciliation between the two opposing sides of Tajikistan was signed in Bishkek.

Development of multifunctional relationship with the CIS countries has no less importance in our Republic's foreign policy. One of the main partners among the CIS countries is Russia with which cooperation is expanding and getting more productive each year. In July 1991, an Agreement of Cooperation was signed between the Kyrgyz Republic and the Russian Federation. Since then, contacts between the two sides have become more frequent. Russia therefore, will continue to be our main strategic partner in the 21st century. In recent years, the heads of these two countries, the heads of governments, ministries and various agencies signed more than 120 agreements and statements in economic, military, political, cultural and humanitarian fields. As of now, more than 10 Kyrgyz-Russian enterprises are functioning in the Kyrgyz Republic. With the cooperation of Russian specialists, Tashkumyr Wire Plant has already been started. In the near future, a joint stock venture *Dastan* in cooperation with KB is going to be launched. In addition to the economic connection with Russia, cultural and scientific relationships are also developing. The Kyrgyz-Russian (Slavonic) University is considered to be one of the best institutions in Central Asia.

In 1994, Customs Union was created in the CIS, which includes Russia, Belaruss, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. These states signed a multiparty agreement on deepening the integration into economic and humanitarian spheres. Besides, an inter-state council and an integration committee were also formed as permanently operating executive bodies. Certainly, these steps are the most effective way for integration.

As regards India, it is bringing a major contribution in democratic transformation and economic reforms to Kyrgyzstan. More profound and comprehensive relations have developed between the two countries

in recent years. As a result, embassies have been opened in both countries and sixteen inter-governmental and several inter-agency agreements have been signed. Kyrgyz trade delegations have also visited India. An important step towards developing trade and economic relationship was the signing of a credit agreement between the governments of Kyrgyzstan and India for a total of \$5 million in June 1995. In October 1995, the first meeting of Inter-governmental Commission was held in Delhi during which a series of documents were signed with the aim of extending trade and economic, scientific, technical, cultural and humanitarian links.

In 1993, the air charter and air cargo transport were initiated, and by June 1997 regular airflight services between Bishkek and Delhi began to take place. The volume of commodities in circulation on the state level in 1996 reached \$39 million which continues to increase further. The Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Kyrgyz Republic is actively involved in regulating economic cooperation by considering the growing interest of Indian businessmen and business representatives in Kyrgyzstan. The Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Kyrgyz Republic has signed a number of agreements regarding partnerships with analogous organisations, including the Confederation of Indian Industry. In all 22 joint Kyrgyz-Indian and 14 Indian enterprises have been established in Kyrgyzstan. Besides, co-operation in the sphere of science and culture between the two countries is developing as well. More than 60 Kyrgyz specialists have already been educated in India. At present 165 students from India are studying in different universities of Kyrgyzstan. In 1997 the Indian Council for Cultural Relations allotted 10 scholarships for Kyrgyz students to study at Indian universities. The same number has also been allotted in 1998.

It is well known that mutually beneficial cooperation between India and Kyrgyzstan have prospered ever since the Great Silk Road came into existence. Today, there is a hope that the famous Silk Road which served in the old days as a means of exchanging goods and ideas between our peoples, will again be filled with new contents and meaning, so as to serve the prosperity of both Kyrgyzstan and India.

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Kyrgyzstan has friendly relations with its largest neighbouring country-China. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations, more than 40 agreements have been signed between governments, ministries and agencies of Kyrgyzstan and China. The two sides hope that the future relations between them will become more closer and mutually beneficial. The Friendship and Collaboration Declaration and the State Border Agreement signed by the leaders of both countries during the visit of the Chinese leader to Bishkek in 1996 have become the most important documents. The next step was negotiations on arms reduction in the border region which ended in 1997 with the signing of the corresponding agreement between Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Russia and China as a continuation of political collaboration. This agreement will bring about security and stability in the region and will also create the conditions needed for the development of trade and cultural links for future generations.

China is our principal trade and economic partner. In 1995, the commercial exchange with China totalled \$214 billion. This will provide the shortest way to enter the Chinese, Pakistani and Indian markets as well as ensure an entry to the Indian sea-ports. The trade and economic relations with China will further create a real basis for construction of a main railroad line as well as gas and oil pipelines in the future. The other area of cooperation with good prospects may be the mining industry.

As far as relations with Japan is concerned, they are presently at a good level. In order to support and strengthen the national currency, Japan has given 60 million dollars to Kyrgyzstan. Another example of cooperation between the two sides is the Japanese donation of \$50 million for the reconstruction of the Bishkek-Osh Road and the Manas airport. With the help of the Japanese experts, a children's clinic hospital has been provided with the most modern equipment. Now it is thought to be one of the best children hospitals in all over Central Asia. The Japanese International Cooperation Association, the only Japanese center in Central Asia has been opened in Kyrgyzstan and is functioning well.

Kyrgyzstan's relations with western states are multiple and complex. International agreements have been signed for collaboration with USA,

Germany, Turkey, Switzerland, the Netherlands and France. In particular, Germany is one of the principal donors in carrying out democratic reforms in Kyrgyzstan. In the last five years Germany has invested 142 million DM in the Kyrgyz economy. During the visit of the German President R. Hertzog, a number of important documents were signed between the two countries, including an agreement on collaboration between the two countries in the struggle against organized crime, terrorism and other criminal activities which have posed new dangers. The German leader commented upon considerable progress made by the Kyrgyz Republic in the field of economic reforms as compared to other Central Asian neighbours. The development of entrepreneurship in our country is a foundation of strengthening the continued cooperation not only with Germany, but also with the European Union.

During recent years, a noticeable success has been achieved in promoting our interests in South-East Asia. Malaysia is one of the first countries in the Asia Pacific Region that started showing interest in establishing political and economic relations with new countries of Central Asia in order to develop equal and mutually beneficial cooperation. In 1996, during an official visit to Kyrgyzstan by the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mahathir Muhammad, a number of important documents were signed, thereby consolidating the political and legislative base for cooperation. The agreements signed included to work on gold mining with active participation of Malaysia and also attract private Malaysian companies to Kyrgyzstan.

Kyrgyzstan also depends on support and help rendered by international organisations in making efforts to reform its economy, realize democratic reforms and integrate into the international community. The Kyrgyz Republic is a member of a number of international organisations. All specialised organisations of the UN system such as CEF, UNICEF, UNESCO, UNHCR, WHO, IMF, WB and UNFPA are represented in Kyrgyzstan due to its membership at the UN. The highest priority issues in our Republic's work with regard to UN activity include human rights, improvement of women's status, environmental protection, security issues and fair use of water along its borders.

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In the spring of 1997, Kyrgyzstan joined a special committee for operations in order to maintain peace and tranquility in the region. It continues to take an active part in preparing resolutions for humanitarian aid to Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and also Bosnia and Herzegovina. Kyrgyzstan has taken the initiative to convene an international conference on Afghanistan in Bishkek which has attracted attention of several countries involved in the Afghan conflict. Kyrgyzstan's proposal of nuclear weapons free zone received positive response at the international UN conference on disarmament within the scope of Kathmandu process, which was held in July 1997 in the Japanese city, Sapporo.

Kyrgyzstan's initiative in getting declared the international year of the mountains is also well-known. The idea was supported by 44 UN member countries including France, Germany, Canada, Italy, Austria, Switzerland, Japan, China, Brazil, Argentina, Pakistan, Turkey, Afghanistan, Ukraine, Moldova, Romania, all the Central Asian and Caucasus countries and others.

The most useful and essential initiative for Kyrgyzstan is the civil and non-military aspects of collaboration with NATO within the scope of the programme "Partnership for Peace". First of all, it concerns all steps towards prevention and elimination of disaster and its consequences, search and life saving operations, providing with special technical equipment etc., and also in environmental protection, burying of hazardous and potentially dangerous industrial wastes, the war against drug trafficking, terrorism and training of corresponding staff etc.

Policy with regard to social and economic improvements raises new problems in the external affairs policy. Therefore, it is necessary to look forward to ways for more active mutually beneficial cooperation with the outside world.

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS IN THE KYRGYZ REPUBLIC: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

K.M. Jumaliev

Kyrgyzstan is experiencing multilateral transformation. Of the many reforms being conducted, the reform of administration occupies a special place. While developing a strategy of administrative reform, we have based our work on worldwide experience, which has been further supplemented by the study of our own management system. We have studied new methods of management as well as new styles of decision-making and persistently searched for more effective variants. However, we are speaking not simply about reforming, correcting or improving the system of state management, but actually giving a new dimension to it. It is, therefore, necessary to find out the answers to questions pertaining to the State system : What must be its role? With what should it be occupied?

Since we do not intend to perform majority of state functions in a poor way, we should try to cope with the basic tasks of the state management. It means that the state apparatus should not simply become smaller and we should change the character of its functions. The attainment of independence, followed by orientation towards an open market economy and democratisation have raised the level of expectations among the citizens; therefore, the ability of the state authority to carry out its role perfectly is very important not only for the citizens of Kyrgyzstan but also for the strength of the state. The effective management of the public sector is the key factor in the democratic development of the country. The expediency of this reform is especially obvious when it is placed against the background of the shifts in the political and economic spheres, which are now taking place in the Republic. Therefore, for Kyrgyzstan, the importance of immediately improving the state management system and its priorities is high on the agenda. Simultaneously, it becomes more urgent and more complicated problem.

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Worldwide practice shows that there exists a variety of ways of classifying into categories the wide spectrum of institutional reforms. In different countries there are different approaches to the administrative reforms. But broadly speaking, they can include the following transformations:

Budgetary Reform

Improving the budget management planning and calculating the optimal tax burden. At the moment, in our Republic, the state budget deficit reduction policy is being carried out by non-inflationary financing and reconsideration of the distribution of its profitable part with the purpose of an effective use of money resources.

Structural - organizational Reform

There are three basic directions :

- (a) Structural analysis and reorganization in the centre, rational reduction of the quantity of ministries and departments, optimization of staff in the remaining ministries, reforming the local self-management, decentralization of the transfer of power, delegation of authority and transfer of decision-making process to the local level.
- (b) “Unloading” and “coordinating” of management functions by transferring the administrative responsibility to other organizations.
- (c) Optimization of resources necessary for the resolution of administrative problems including the provision of retraining for the remaining state employees. Changes in the structure of departments and reduction of expenses by using methods and modes of work borrowed from the private sector.

Procedural Questions and Personnel Reforms

These reforms are oriented towards simplification and flexibility of administrative procedures. What is important here is knowledge of personnel management to execute personnel policies. Training and retraining of the staff and evaluating the quality of their work are of primary importance here.

Legislative Reform

The policy of administrative reforms and activities for their realization should be supported by a modification in the legislative system, which should also provide a mechanism for accomplishing policies for careful and objective monitoring of state service.

Administrative reform is considered as a process that determines the quality of the future society. It is a large and difficult problem and its resolution requires a great deal of strength and time. Because of the limited length of this article, primary attention has been paid to the following directions of the government administration, which are of priority for Kyrgyzstan at the moment :

- administrative information;
- local self-management;
- personnel policy.

ADMINISTRATIVE INFORMATION

For Kyrgyzstan, the issues of state regulation of information processes in general and information systems for state and local administrations in particular, plus the development of telecommunication and information technologies and information networks are becoming more real. The state policy of the Republic in the sphere of information organs of state and local administrations is aimed at the development of information and telecommunication technologies, the establishment and development of a single information-telecommunication infrastructure for upgrading the organisation, the quality of administrative work and service to citizens and accomplishing effective and adaptable administration for the benefit of people.

In recent years, the situation in the information area has become better. In 1994, the Government had adopted “the Concept of the formation and development of an information network in the Kyrgyz Republic”. In 1995, the President’s National Information Centre worked out the project titled “The Information program of the Kyrgyz Republic for 1996-2000”. Besides, the Law Project “About information” has also

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been worked out. In 1996, the Department of Information and Telecommunication was organised, which aimed at looking after the management bodies, coordination and keeping control on activities of the state management bodies. At the beginning of 1997, the Committee of Information under the President was organised for making State Policy and determining the development strategy of information, which would deal with problems of introduction and use of new information technologies among the government bodies.

At present, although many kinds of information systems are functioning, they are being worked out or improved in all the structures of supreme governmental bodies, ministries, departments and local as well as regional authorities. Parts of this work have been accomplished by the International Organizations such as Asian Bank of Reconstruction and Development, USAID, UNO, Tacis, the Soros Foundation, etc. Functioning information systems decide not only problems of a departmental nature, but also they are links to a single network of higher and local levels, deciding a wide spectrum of governmental, analytical and socio-economic problems. Such information systems include the National Statistics Committee, the Tax Inspection Department, the Ministry of Labour and Social Defence and the Government Property Fund which are already operational in Kyrgyzstan. The project "Municipal Finance and Management" (Karakol-centre of Issyk Kul region) is another example of integration at the local level.

With the support of the National Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic, a programme titled "Assistance to administrative reform through information concept" had also been worked out. In this document, the aims, principles and priorities for different levels of administrative structures and information systems were formulated and grounded by using new information technologies and telecommunication systems directed towards increasing effectiveness of their work.

Since the State policy directed at the quick development of telecommunication contributes greatly to increasing the GNP, President Akayev himself came forward with the initiative to work out the first

telecommunication project. At present this is the only complex telecommunication project in the countries of the Commonwealth of the Independent States. Companies from the USA, Norway, Switzerland and Israel are taking part in the accomplishment of this project. The project includes five levels:

State Information Policy

The Government has taken the responsibility of providing maximum support to the speedy development of all the communication systems in the country. To begin with, it is the telecommunication system. This will not only help Kyrgyzstan to join the international communication system and develop inter-regional communication systems, but also to promote the development of domestic production of instruments and machinery for communication. Modern communication systems would, therefore, facilitate the speedy development of all economic infrastructures in general and national economy in particular. After the realization of the first stage of the telecommunication project in 1997, the internal telecommunication channels are being developed and improved on the basis of new technologies of digital communication. All the oblast centers have been covered by a closed network of digital microwave radio-line stations, forming a kind of superline. Within the framework of development and modernization of domestic communication, a digital telephone network for increasing the capacity of the existing analogous means of communication, has also been established in the capital - Bishkek, and all the oblast centers including the city of Cholpon-Ata. In 1995, a ground satellite complex, Standard "A" was launched in order to join links to the world telecommunication network. Our Republic is hooked to the fiber - optic cable communication line coming from China, crossing the Central Asian countries and Turkey, and travelling up to Germany. The next project in line is "Silksat" which aims at launching of our own communication satellite by the year 2000 to provide the country with autonomous confidential and high quality communication. Implementation of all these projects is of great importance for the creation of a modern information infrastructure in the whole Republic.

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Creating Information systems for the state management bodies presupposes computerization (in the ideology of office document circulation and the control of decision making), the automated processing of actual and analytical information and the automated support of decision making at the levels of the Kyrgyz Republic President's administration, the Government, the legislative body, the constitutional court, the ministries and the administrative departments. Other problems included in the state information policy are the development of planning strategy and the accomplishment of some measures such as financial and legal support for research in the scientific-technological field, introduction of new innovations, the creation and use of modern competitive hardware and software, providing information networks and the training of experts upto the highest level of qualifications. The state information policy ensures the coordination between informational-technological products and decisions realized in Kyrgyzstan to an international standard.

Branch Information Policy

At this level there are two inter-related components:

- (a) systems of automated office operations and support of decision making; and
- (b) branch centres and data banks.

They are supplied and distributed to industrial enterprises free of cost.

Regional Information Policy

Within the framework of this policy there is an urgent necessity for exchanging information among the regions of the Kyrgyz Republic. Therefore, on the basis of the first telecommunications project, the State Computer network project has been worked out by the President's Information Commission. This project will resolve such questions as,

- (a) unification of local networks with global ones;
- (b) integration of regional and subject-oriented networks into a single national infrastructure ("Intranet");

- (c) providing the integration of the “Intranet” into the global information network, the “Internet”; and
- (d) providing “Intranet” with information and calculation resources.

The network of information-analytical centres as a system of information support to the state management process, would become an integral part of the administrative managerial control process as well as its technological and supply sub-system. However, such services do not have powerful functions, excluding the deliberate distortion of information evaluation in the current political (definite, fixed) and socio-economic situation. But they will have certain status to be protected from the influence of the officials.

Information Policy in the sphere of Entrepreneurs, Owners and Employers

It is based on the “partnership” relations between the state and business. One of the basic purposes of the information policy in the field of entrepreneurship is the support of information action and system for developing business.

Information Policy in the area of Individual’s Requirements

For a long time, the individual life sphere has never been taken into consideration, not even in a single program of information policy. As a result, there are no modern information networks and systems which could meet the demands of Kyrgyz population in education, professional training and in raising the general level of culture, besides being accessible to each person’s requirement in their home conditions. The so called distance education programme will try to meet these demands. The first step in this direction will be the realization of a complex telecommunication project which will permit not only the improvement of the quality of telephone, mail communication, television programs, but also expand the opportunities for each inhabitant of the Republic to get access to the world network, “Internet” and other computer and information networks.

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However, the information policy of the individual life sphere will be carried out at two levels - state and regional. At the state level, the creation of legal, legislative and financial conditions for the manufacturing, purchasing and introducing of telecommunication and information technologies that will also be economically accessible to each citizen of the Republic will be accomplished. At the regional level, it is necessary to form a “realistic” part in this direction of the information policy. Therefore, ethnic, local, economic, demographic, production, cultural, historical and other factors as well as peculiarities of a particular region will also be taken into account.

Unfortunately, it happened that a majority of the able to work population appeared to have not prepared for the creation of quickly changing modern technologies, dynamically changing life and they had also no perception of the world wide experience. All these require fast adaptation, readaptation and creative experience, i.e., the highest level of being informed.

The realization of the state information policy will promote modernization of Kyrgyz society, protection of the human rights, creation of a modern and advanced democracy along with a strong economy which will protect the national well being as well as prestige and the integrity of the state and the society.

LOCAL SELF-MANAGEMENT

Following the world wide trend with respect to the increasing significance of human resources in development, great attention is being paid to social policy in Kyrgyzstan, which aims at improving possibilities of human existence. In spite of resource limitations, about 60 % of the state budget is spent on social needs. Since 1995 the “National report on the Human Development” is being issued annually with the UNDP support. Different programs of human development have also been adopted and they are being realized now. Two educational programs: *Bilim* and the Presidential *Kadry 20 veka* are also being carried out. With the support of the World Health Organization, the program “Manas” has been worked out and implemented. The main task of this program is to reform the public

health system. Another program *Ayalzat* which has been adopted in February 1988 is directed to support women, though the basic purpose of this program is to struggle against poverty which is one of the most serious problems in Kyrgyzstan. Earlier in summer 1997, a national strategy for stable human development was adopted. This strategy including the basic trends of human development, defined the short, middle and long term targets for the state development until the year 2015 A.D.

However, in order to secure stable human development, much has to be done and it is necessary to further continue reforms in economic, political and social life of the country. But the fact remains that the majority of the population with low living standards does not have a strong belief and hope in the social potentials of democracy, especially in market relations.

One of the reasons which holds back the reforms is the gap between needs in transformation and the weaknesses of the social self-organization, particularly in the form of local self-government system and the absence of its management strategy. Today the problem of providing interaction and coordination between the activities of central and territorial (local) structures of the state management on the basis of radical redistribution and delimitation of their functions has become more clear. Therefore, as a first step in reforming the local self-government, measures are being taken for the creation and development of a legal, financial and economic basis of the local self-government, besides allocating municipal property and local budgets.

Earlier, in accordance with the Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic, the program of state support to the local self-government and its bodies was elaborated in the Decree of the President on 20 March 1996, dealing with the “measures to raise the role and responsibility of the heads of the local self-government and the local state administrations”, and on 24 October 1996 “About measures on further perfecting the local self-government in the Kyrgyz Republic” by a corresponding Decree of the Government.

As regards the reform of local self-government at the levels of town, district and region for 1997-98, the program determines main principles

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of work of the local self-government and its transition from centralized leadership to decentralized management by legal, systematic and organisational method. The program also aspires to promote the unification of efforts of the government bodies and the local self-government in problem solving. This is more so because it will help the local regions to adopt the principles of local self-government, thereby protecting their interests in the process of making decisions and laws by the government bodies, as well as rendering assistance to the process of forming the legal state and the civil society.

The main task is to bring the authorities closer to the citizens so as to liquidate a gap between citizens and the state management bodies and to mobilize the local communities in making efforts for collective welfare as well as taking responsibility for continuing reforms in the local regions. However, the discussion is not about a pure division of labour between the Republic and local bodies. As a matter of fact, both are involved in the joint processes of making commonwealth in which each of the parties has to play a special role and each of them is capable of upsetting the efforts of the other. From the point of view of pluralism, this is a normal and necessary phenomenon.

As per the Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic as well as the corresponding Decrees of the President and decisions of government, functions of the state authority and the local self-management have already been separated, but at the same time the independence of local self-management has been strengthened.

However, the problem of differentiating the functions remains complicated and unreserved. Let's discuss here some of them :

- (a) There is an absence of precise division of functions between the central and local executive authorities, and between local state administration and local self-management. Now the relations between all levels of the authority are regulated by one law, though each of them carries out different functions and "plays its own part" in the state administration. However, mutual relationship between the state authority and the local government remains complicated, as the degree of autonomy of the local self-management has not been made clear. But in practice, local

bodies of the authorities (*Keneshes*) are found to be completely depending on the *Akim*. Therefore, when the state government has greater influence on the local self-government, the questions arise about the latter's accountability and responsibility, the degree of possible influence of state authority on local self-management and about the sanctions if the case may be.

- (b) The Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic and other normative legal acts have provided greater powers to bodies of local self-management. But the problem is that no mechanism is there for the realization of legal and organizational measures.
- (c) The majority of the employees belonging to the bodies of local self-management, have an experience of commanding the administration and management by force and so more often they do not work, a serious problem which is still taking place.

Therefore, problems are not only with employees' adaptation to new political and economic conditions, use of their wise resources and preserving and enriching of their intellectual potential, but also with acquiring new and highly professional managers to be filled at all levels of authority.

Unfortunately, the questions mentioned above have not been solved yet. What has been seen is the organizational instability as a result of frequent changes in the structure of the apparatus including the fall of overall prestige of state service; reduction of real buying power; weakening of control over managers together with opportunities which have increased sharply during economic reforms. These issues have resulted in the decline of discipline and responsibility in the government, huge corruption as well as mass outflow of the qualified staff. However, the extreme vulnerability of the government is determined by two circumstances which are marked at all levels of the state authority right from Republic up to *aiyl okmotu*.

The first one is corruption. The question does not concern simply corruption in organizations and the deviant behaviour of individuals. The concern is rather about the similarity of criminal and public life. It is not

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only a matter of the merger of state and criminal structures, but also the permanent infringement of law by the majority of the population. Some irregularities in the administrative process, current of thinking, psychological orientations and the qualitative characteristics of participants can also be related directly or indirectly to corruption. The essential influence on the functioning of the state apparatus is exerted by relatives and the people from the same region. The degree of their influence is always displayed whenever we have the task of removing them from government.

One more issue which is obvious is the administrative self interest. The second is closely connected with the first. The establishment of a very powerful hierarchy does not provide for the law, especially in the area of administrative (government) law. The threat of the President's or the *Akim's* disfavour can't compensate for the weakness of state control. It is becoming more evident that these problems of the governmental structures, which have both an objective and subjective character, are the main contributing factors in destabilising the socio-economic development of the country as a whole.

For a long time, the Republic's authorities at all levels were of bureaucratic nature. They worked in accordance with the fixed rules, paying more attention to the established order. Such type of state authorities can work more or less successfully in a stable socio-economic condition. But in the changed environment the units of power can not respond quickly mainly due to the fact that management decisions in order to obtain directive approval must go through a number of levels. That's why our society understands that all levels of power and its structure, functions, responsibilities and staff must be re-evaluated. The changes in the structure of the state power must be conducted in a direction that can be expressed by a short formula: from administration to management.

In connection with the above mentioned issues, questions which call for serious attention and analysis appear to be, How to carry out transformation : from inside or outside? What is to be reformed: structure or functions? Who will be affected: all employees or certain individuals? What is the cost of transformation?

Local authorities which are needed to be reformed, aim at the intensification of their accountability to society and state. This means that both the people and the institutions must be responsible for the quality of the fulfillment of their duties which must be evaluated as objectively as possible. In this process two key ideas, accountability and “evaluation of the quality of activities” which are connected with each other must be taken into consideration.

Accountability of local self-government is considered to be a complex phenomenon as it includes Parliamentary control; accountability to the law (judicial control); accountability to the consumer (public control); and professional accountability (scientific expert control). If accountability loses its complex character, its value and effectiveness too get reduced. Therefore, the multi-sided accountability of the heads and local administrative staff to the government and society is essential to increase the responsibility for the quality of executive activity. The officials must work in accordance with the criteria established by those, who have the powers to control, and also they must work to satisfy the needs of the population in the given services.

Evaluation of the quality of the activity is based on the statement of McGregor, who asserts, that the people aspire to responsibility and that in favourable conditions they promote the quality of the organization’s activities. To ensure “quality” in the area being considered, it is necessary to know the requirements of the population, offer services that can satisfy them; carry out precise duties and use “feed back” etc. Now the question arises, whether it is possible to assess the quality to execute administrative or management duties in a quantitative way? One of the possible variants is that when the work of self-government bodies is evaluated on the citizens’ applications, it is considered for the certain period of time [day, week, month]. But in such an approach, the emphasis is put on the reduction of expenses, not on improving the results. On the basis of this very fact, the efforts of the government in achieving the performance of the same volume of work by a smaller staff can also be explained.

To achieve success, it is necessary to create an atmosphere conducive to the ‘highest quality’ at all levels of the State’s authority as well as the

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private companies. Let's consider some comparisons from the book of T.Peters and R.Waterman *In search of Excellence:Devotion to Action*.

- (a) Whereas a worker in a private company simply gets down to business, a civil servant in the government consults his or her superiors and only after receiving their permission, he or she begins to act.
- (b) To be closer to the client. The private firm listens to the enquiries made by the consumer sensitively and genuinely responds to his or her requirements. Otherwise, the company will not flourish. The state authority can not do so as a civil servant is more busy with himself, instead of being with a client.
- (c) A choice of sphere of activity. The private company finds the kind of activities most suitable to the organisation. The bodies of state power carry out only such things which are prescribed by legislation.

Thus, the most significant challenge to the workers of all ranks in bodies of state authority at all levels is an orientation towards quality service.

The other challenge is connected with the introduction of newly introduced information technologies which influence the structure of the organs of power, the process of decision-making, the qualifications of the personnel etc. The application of such technologies helps promote both the centralization and decentralization of state authority. Information can be stored and kept in "centre," so that the power of the civil servants could be made limited. At the same time, local terminals open opportunities to "move" the information more quickly in establishments down to the level of the operational workers. Due to this, it is possible to reduce middle management, as the functions of notification and coordination are made with the help of the computer network. The authentic and complete information raises the effectiveness of decision-making at all official levels, reduces risk factor, permits to model a situation and accelerates process of adoption of administrative decisions. The introduction of information technologies opens up new prospects for planning the functions of officials and preparation of workers for their fulfilment. It also promotes the improvement of professional skills as well

as individual qualities of the staff. Moreover, the process of decision making by means of computerization creates an atmosphere of trust and strengthens the feeling of personal participation and responsibility among the ordinary employees in order to perform well to the needs of the organization.

One more challenge is the necessity of transition from current method of administration to new method of management. Unlike the administrative system, the management system gives a higher degree of freedom to both the chiefs and subordinates. The success of management in business also determines the dissemination of its principles of activity in social organizations which have not been connected with business, including the structure of state management, in spite of the fact, that for a long time there has been an opinion that the management is unacceptable for the state structures, because profitability was not the main issue for them.

Like managers of private firms, people who work in the area of state management should care about increasing the level of their service, and productivity, besides stimulating employees, for the future development of their institutions. Modern managers need to have such skills which are necessary for everybody who is engaged in the state management bodies. These skills include the ability to bring information to the audience, the ability to have personal contacts with the representatives involved in other spheres of activity, the ability to make decisions and solve the problems by himself; ability to work in a collective form as a member of the team, the ability to take advice, and conduct negotiations, professional skills and so on.

The active enforcement of management principles in the sphere of state and local management will let the central bodies of the executive authorities free from managing business and property of a local character. In this way, the central bodies may perform the responsibilities of the government affairs and may also control strictly the execution of legal and normative standards, state social standards, and nationwide programmes, besides carrying out other arrangements of a state charter including the programme of Stable Human Development.

PERSONNEL POLICY

The state personnel policy, first of all, is the responsibility of the administrative body. It is directed towards defining the priorities, scientifically grounded criteria and approaches to training, evaluation and selecting of personnel as well as the legal social protection of the state's employees. However, recently there have been serious changes in the personnel policy which has thus acquired a complex character for developing the potential of personnel.

What is significant is that the national educational programme *Bilim*, the Presidential programme *Kadry XXI veka*, and the Academy of Management which was formed by the President in 1997 have also been changed to tackle the problem. Obviously, the changing situation in the country's orientation towards social development gave way to the adoption of the Conception of the State Personnel Policy, in the beginning of 1998. The main aims of this policy are as follows :

- (a) Providing the management process and all sections of labour activity with qualified, skilled and actively working employees;
- (b) Realization of the maximum effective use of the intellectual potential and all labour resources of the country including their preservation and enrichment;
- (c) Creation of favourable conditions and guarantees for realization of each employee's abilities, stimulating their professional growth and promotion in rank, and increasing the effectiveness of the labour activity;
- (d) Formation of a strong legal, political, social and economic defence system of workers within the framework of the country's Constitution.

Besides, in its contents, the personnel policy includes the definition of social and legal basis as well as tasks and priorities of the personnel functions in all branches of government (legislative, executive, legal) and levels (central, regional, local).

During reforms in the first year it has been revealed that insufficient and inadequate level of skilled qualifications of the civil service employees is a serious factor which holds back the reform process. First of all, this refers to such staff who make decisions, in other words, managers of different levels and their qualitative characteristics such as, levels of their education and training and ability to improve their qualifications.

For the last so many years we had been under impression that the main aims of education were the development of initiative on the part of the employees, the ability to do their own observations and make study independently, ability to work with other people to understand the mechanisms of the organization's work and influence them to unite together for joint activity etc. But the system of education is hardly aimed at developing these qualities. The problem is that their development requires to create a huge number of educational programmes oriented towards individual competence and indentifying the motives of each individual, thereby creating situations which could enable them to display their initiative, and make observations. In connection with this, it is important to work out the system of evaluation which could encourage both the teachers and students to develop these qualities.

But, most importantly, the sphere of education has to be guided by social needs and it should be recognized as the unified and unquestionable criterion for determining the position and the status of state employees. It is also necessary to lay emphasis on principle of innovation in the curriculum plans, in the evaluation of the activities, in relations between the educational system and society, in employment and in the system of attestation at both the personal as well as management level concepts.

The problem of providing personnel to government bodies is that the "conflict" between ineffective old system of management and the requirements of the modern stage of social development is intensifyng. For example, both the middle level management and lower level management are often found to have a low qualification which does not allow them to perform their work properly. Most of the operating details are delegated to their subordinates as they are not done by high ranking administrators. As a result, many administrative duties of a high level,

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such as strategic and indicative planning, and the institutional and personnel development of the enterprise often remain unfocussed to the administrator's attention.

Lack of professionalism among the significant number of executive personnel is also an obstacle to carry out more effective work culture in the important sectors of government. In our own administrative activity, the idea which was formed earlier, together with inertia in opinion and points of view, is now in opposition to the new character of economy and the changed forms of social relations. As a result, skills to have interaction with non state structures, especially, banks and the stock exchange, have been acquired through the basic trial and error method. It is unfortunate that the positive experiences of foreign countries have not been willingly studied so they are badly used.

The effectiveness of the authority's activity gets reduced because of the high turnover of management staff as well as poor professional qualifications of the staff. Therefore, their adaptation to the working environment is difficult and takes a long time.

That's why each employee of the management body should constantly update and deepen his professional knowledge on the basis of continuing education. This is more so because the system of training, retraining and improvement of professional skills of the state employees is based on that. Of course, the system of selection, training and promotion of staff is supposed to have democratic principles of an openness and legality and it should not be based on personal trust but on a high level of professionalism, diligence, and responsibility. That's why the contract system, competitions, qualifying examinations and other tests are conducted widely in order to attract professionals to state offices.

The monitoring of personnel for getting information about all the shortcomings in the personnel work, in a timely fashion, has been planned and will be introduced soon. It would also be useful to introduce the practice of obtaining references for a state position. The references would be given by the direct supervisor from the former place of work, or by scientists, administrators, psychologists and lawyers. The person making the recommendation should take responsibility for what he or she says.

The other, but not less important problem is that it is difficult to increase the efficiency of work power because of a low level of socio-economic and legal security for state administration employees. The situation is that the volume, intensity and especially the responsibility of labour does not correspond objectively to the employee's salary. A sociological research carried out at the beginning of 1997 by a group of experts from the International Institute of Strategic Research testifies that the key members of the state management employees feel strongly about their social vulnerability and express their dissatisfaction over the level of salaries. Such a situation provokes officials to misuse their positions for personal gains. Besides, the low level of salary is one of the causes of exodus of staff from state bodies of management, particularly of those with higher qualifications. According to the data from a department of state service and the organizational work of President's Administration, the staff outflow in 1997 alone amounted to 16.2%.

Unfortunately, raising of the salary is restrained by the budget, as it would not be received well by the population of the Republic. However, in order to get qualified staff, salaries are raised in some selected departments where it is possible to coordinate payment for work with the results of activity. But there are also cases of this conduct on the part of workers. For example, it has been revealed that firstly, some people are hiding their bonus to avoid paying taxes, and secondly, customs officials have found that some people are engaged in smuggling. Even in the mass media they are actively explaining on the one hand, the cause of the loss suffered by the government sectors due to the poor quality of apparatus and on the other hand, demanding grant of privileges to employees. That's why we are fighting for making the activity of the workers of the state administrative system to be more open to the public. In this regard, the need to pay more attention to the state administrative body and society as a whole is an urgent task for us.

Personnel policy of course, is one of the main and most complex problems in the Kyrgyz Republic, because it needs reform not only in the organizational and controlling tasks, but also in the whole gamut of social, economic, legal, moral, psychological and other problems.

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But our main emphasis is on how to find a way to make the state managers' work more effective since the staff of the state management is the most important functionary in generating the wealth in the country. Therefore, we must adopt the principles of experimentation, innovation and training which are necessary to stop the movement toward self destruction. And for that aim, we must radically change our notion towards work and the competence of the staff of the state management. Besides, the systems necessary for the evaluation and development of the staff, and the measures on evaluating and improving the effectiveness of the state management should also be taken into consideration.

In conclusion we want to say that the administrative reforms which began a few years ago, have the sole purpose of managing economy in the transition period. The powerful democratization of management activity along with increasing the independence and responsibility of each and every government body and employee is the important factor to achieve this purpose. The result would essentially become the criterion of the effectiveness of the work of state management system. However, despite the fact that the questions considered here do not cover the whole range of problems, they are the most important for the administrative transformation taking place in Kyrgyzstan. Their solution would undoubtedly allow the strengthening of the state administrative apparatus, thereby providing the effectiveness of the reforms we are currently pursuing.

INDIA AND KYRGYZSTAN IN CONSTRUCTIVE COOPERATION

M. Imanaliev

The year 1997 was the year of golden jubilee of India's independence. Since its independence in 1947 India has come a long way as a sovereign democratic state, possessing a huge economic potential and playing a distinguished role in the world's arena. For the people of Kyrgyzstan, India is a country of spiritual attraction as well as a symbol of best achievements and aspiration of the mankind. We know very well that the great Indian history and culture have their roots in ancient times.

Regardless of the short historical period that has passed since India and Kyrgyzstan started developing their bilateral relations, the two countries now share similar views on most of the questions dealing with the dynamics of the world. Such questions include the world stability, liquidation of the areas of armed conflicts, regional and global integration of countries having different ways of historical development as well as different economies and cultures, as also of welfare and prosperity of our peoples.

Kyrgyzstan emphasizes cooperation with India and highly appreciates the dynamic and onward activities of India in the international arena. Kyrgyzstan believes that emerging new order has to be based on the democratic principles and cooperation among all the members of the international community. We also support the increasing role being played by the UN in international affairs and positively assess its efforts in resolving the global and regional issues. Kyrgyzstan understands initiatives taken by India with regard to security in Asia and making the Indian ocean a zone of peace and safety

The Republic of India has been one of the main foreign policy priorities for Kyrgyzstan after acquiring its sovereignty in 1991. Historical links between the two sides which date back to antiquity, have become the sound basis for renewing and developing bilateral relations in recent years. At present, the two countries have a mutual aspiration for fruitful

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future cooperation, particularly in the period when Kyrgyzstan is following the path of crucial economic reforms. A remarkable landmark in establishing friendly ties between the two countries was the official visit of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic Mr. Askar Akaev to India in 1992. During this visit the two sides made commitments to carry out their relations on the basis of mutually profitable basis in the political, economic, cultural and humanities fields. Therefore, a strong legal basis was put forth in relations between Kyrgyzstan and India. Political dialogue between our countries has largely been promoted through the exchange of diplomatic missions at the embassy level. On 5 October 1994, a Kyrgyz Embassy was opened in India by the Decree of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic. Taking into consideration the importance of developing bilateral relations, Indian government too decided to open an Indian Embassy in Kyrgyzstan.

India with its economic, scientific and technical potential plays an important role in today's world. An important factor of cooperation has been deepening political contacts between the leaders of the two countries, which allowed them to compare their positions for future bilateral cooperation and exchange opinion on urgent international problems. India is one of the largest democracies of the world. Representing institutions for India is not new. Today an active parliamentary democracy in India has its origin in those advisory bodies and democratic institutions which existed during the period 1500- 2000 B. C., the epoch is known as Vedic period in Indian history. However, the present tradition of democracy and republicanism took shape during India's struggle for independence against the colonial rule.

Since antiquity, the nomadic life style and household system of the Kyrgyz people have been stimulated into the formation of a culture, philosophy, traditions, norms and rules of the state and the family, which differ from the settled lifestyle and hence known as nomadic culture. No wonder that after the restoration of our state, the idea of liberty and democracy has been adopted. In fact in the course of building up a new state nothing has been brought from outside, rather the new idea organically merged with the traditional world outlook of the Kyrgyz people.

Today in the political system of India, the Parliament occupies primarily a noble place. As Kyrgyzstan in its foreign policy is steadily following the principles of democracy, it becomes very important to broaden links between the Parliaments of the two countries. There are of course, permanent parliamentary working groups created with the purpose of establishing inter-parliamentary links between the Kyrgyz Republic and India as well as exchanging information and experience.

With the purpose of implementing the agreements reached during the official visit of the Kyrgyz President, Askar Akaev to India, a joint inter-governmental committee on trade and economic, scientific and technical, and cultural and humanities cooperation was established. During the past, two meetings of the committee were held in 1995 and 1997. The meetings defined the main directions of cooperation in various areas such as tourism, extraction of minerals and metals, food processing, creation of a joint bank, science and technology, pharmaceuticals, civil aviation, electric power, development of small and middle size businesses, extraction of oil and natural gas as well as cooperation under ITEC program. Now the Kyrgyz-Indian relations are characterized by a large potential for development, high level of political dialogue, active contacts at the level of various ministries and departments, opportunities for developing cooperation in the economic field, positive results of interaction in the field of culture and humanities as well as scientific and technical sphere.

India represents a particular interest for Kyrgyzstan as far as economic aspects are concerned such as availability of a strong economic potential, experience of economic reforms, denationalization of the state sector of economy, attracting foreign investments, creating joint ventures, availability of numerous Indian entrepreneurs and potential investors for the Kyrgyz economy, etc. There are numerous areas for joint efforts between the two governments with a purpose of activating the bilateral interaction, deepening trade and economic cooperation, particularly in agriculture, food processing, tourism, transportation and communication, drug prevention, extraction of minerals and metals, electric power etc.

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Active positioning of business representatives plays main role in strengthening traditional friendly relations between our countries. Not the least role in this respect is allocated to the recently created Joint Business Council, established between the Association of Businessmen in India and Trade-Production Chamber of Kyrgyzstan. The future cooperation between Kyrgyzstan and India can be developed by creating joint industrial enterprises based on the projects of Indian investors. Taking into consideration the importance of the mutually beneficial cooperation between Kyrgyzstan and India, initiative has been taken to attract Indian companies for their participation in joint projects.

However, the main problem hindering further development in trade and economic cooperation is absence of a direct transportation system. However, the opening of a regular flight NAC *Kyrgyzstan aba joldoru*, will undoubtedly promote tourism and develop contacts between Indian and Kyrgyz businessmen.

Bilateral ties are actively developing under the auspices of the society for friendship and cultural ties "Kyrgyzstan India". At present, twice a year in Bishkek, they regularly hold traditional decades of Indian-Kyrgyz friendship. Several delegations from Kyrgyzstan have visited India through the assistance of this society.

In India, there is a great interest to study the outstanding historico-cultural inheritance of our people. The *Manas* is a famous epic poem of the Kyrgyz people, same as the *Mahabharata* for the Indians and the *Odyssey* for the Greeks. The epic poem *Manas* together with other masterpieces of arts and literature are the property of the world culture and have no borders. It is highly symbolic that a famous Indian translator and writer Varyam Singh translated Kyrgyz *Manas* into Hindi. In Bishkek Humanities University, there is a separate department known as Mahatma Gandhi Center which can become a place for studying great historic and cultural legacy of the Indian people. In 1998, experts on "Manas studies" from Kyrgyzstan participated in a conference on the epic heritage of India and Kyrgyzstan.

Cooperation between Kyrgyzstan and India has several promising directions, which are of interest to both parties. Besides trade and economy, there are also cultural and humanities spheres which are being treated as the most effective tool for cooperation at the moment. Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) Program is of great interest to us. This interest is there, not only because India provides a perfect opportunity to Kyrgyz specialists to complete a study or join training institutions, but also it gives a chance to get acquainted with history, culture and modern life of one of the most ancient peoples of the world. In the framework of this program, it is also stipulated that consultative services be provided in such spheres as TV and radio communication, education, modernization of the airports, oil extraction, cement and paper production, etc., as well as assistance in implementation of different projects which would help defining viability of the selected projects and make necessary corrections. This program is the basis for our cooperation with India and more than 70 other countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe.

Due to support extended by the Indian government our specialists have the opportunity to learn from the Indian experience about development of state infrastructure, modern industrial technologies, textiles, agriculture, cattle breeding, irrigation, agricultural production, and also creation of small businesses. In the last four years, more than 60 specialists from different Ministries and Departments of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan have studied in India under the ITEC program. In Kyrgyzstan, at the same time we hosted Indian experts in tourism, small businesses, banking and several other representatives from private and state companies and firms operating in India. Success of the economic reform, not only in Kyrgyzstan but in any other country is impossible without the qualified and experienced specialists. In this respect, India offers a friendly hand and provides us great opportunities to get acquainted with experience of economic innovations and achievements in the country of origin.

FORMATION OF THE ETHNO-POLITICAL TERRITORY AND BOUNDARIES OF KYRGYZSTAN

N. Kerimbekova

Historical ties between the peoples of Kyrgyzstan and India go back to centuries, to the time of opening and functioning of ancient Great Silk Road through which many peoples gained economic, trade, cultural and other links. At the same time, history made our peoples witness a long struggle for freedom and independence from more powerful empires and stronger states. Thus, the Kyrgyz people had to fight for their independence in ancient times in order to attain their statehood. But they lost it under feudal disunity of the society in the absence of a common centralized state. However, there were repeated efforts to restore it in the middle ages and later as a part of the USSR.

For many generations, our people had to create independent states with all the problems characteristic to this process, such as inter-ethnic hostility, poor economy, to some extent loss of cultural values, and finally, frontier and territorial claims by neighbouring countries on the so called disputable sectors. In this connection, the theme of our research seems to be topical.

The territory where Kyrgyz people presently live within its statehood is only a part of the ethnic territory, since formation of Kyrgyz ethnic community covered for many centuries a wide territory of Central Asia. In contemporary times with the formation of political states with clear cut borders, the Kyrgyz became a predominant nation in the Kyrgyz Republic and a national minority in other states. Historical and political circumstances together with natural, peaceful and non-peaceful as well as voluntary and forcible migration of the Kyrgyz population contributed to this. As of today, the Kyrgyz people live in compact groups. Apart from their own Republic, they also live in different states such as Tajikistan (Gorny Badakshan and Jerghetal), Uzbekistan (Ferghana valley etc.),

China (Xinjiang), Afghanistan (Major and Minor Pamirs, Wakhan corridor), Turkey (Wan province) and even India (Gilgit, a Pakistan controlled area on the territory of India where a small group of Kyrgyz emigrants from Afghanistan was registered after 1978).

Formation of ethnic-political territory of the Kyrgyz people is inseparable from its ethnogenesis and ethnic processes. Kyrgyz ethnos appeared in different historical epochs on a certain territory at a different length of time but with geographical gaps. At the same time, they witnessed original socio-political structure of the society as well as a different level of military-economic system and economic-cultural life standards.

For the first time “Ownership of the Kyrgyz” (in Chinese transcription *gegun* or *gian’gun*) has found mention in 201 B.C. in the work of Syma Tzan titled *Shi Tzi* (Historical notes) where he narrates about campaigns of Shanyun Madoun, a ruler of the Huns. This first report of its kind contains some localized information about the first state formation of the Kyrgyz and brings about controversial definitions of its geographical location. Some believe it to have occupied the territory next to the lake Kyrgyz-Nur (Mongolia).¹ But others think that it was the area between the lake Alakol in the north and Boro-Horo range in the south, which is only a little north-east to the current political territory of the Kyrgyz Republic (Eastern Tien Shan, PRC).² It is now clear that the ancient Kyrgyz formed their first state simultaneously with the emergence of the first Turkic speaking empire of the Huns and thereby stood at the very roots of the history of All Turkic statehood and that the most ancient territory of the Kyrgyz was located not in Minusinsk hollow on the Yenisei, but to the south or to the west of it.

One can more accurately and in more detail speak about formation of early medieval ethno-political territory of the Kyrgyz. Chinese, Iranian and Arab sources (VI c.) irrespective of each other localize the early medieval Kyrgyz in Minusinsk hollow on the middle part of Yenisei river. Here as a result of mix up of local (*Dinlin*) and strange (*Kyrgyz*) tribes a new ethnic community was formed - the Yenisei Kyrgyz. Other lands and mountain-taiga massives were inhabited by the people akin to Kyrgyz tribes. Analysis of the data available from archaeological material has shown quite

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well the anthropo-ethnographic appearance and household occupation of the Kyrgyz of Tsigu land (Kyrgyz in Chinese transcription of that time).

Kyrgyz population of Minusa belongs to Europeid race. In “Tan - shu” it is noted that the Kyrgyz are “...in general tall with red hair, pink-cheeked and blue eyed”.³ Socio-economic order of the Kyrgyz in Minusinsk hollow has been described as the highest of its time's civilization with a developed economy. Their household was complex : ploughing and crop-growing with artificial irrigation were combined with semi-nomadic cattle-breeding. Such type of economy provided a wide variety of settlements and houses, clothes, food, means of conveyance, etc. The Kyrgyz of that time had dwellings of a *yurt* type wooden built six-corner permanent structures.

On the territorial, cultural and ethnic foundation of the Kyrgyz (Tzigu) ownership, a strong state association of Yenisei Kyrgyz was formed and expanded territorially. There was a branch of trans-Asian route of the Great Silk Road, known as the Kyrgyz Route.

In 840 A.D., there came “an hour of triumph” in the development of Kyrgyz statehood in Yenisei. The Kyrgyz with a hundred thousand army attacked the walls of conqueror-Uighurs’ capital, seized and ruined it. The Uighur Khanate was finally defeated and in its place the Kyrgyz Khanate developed. While following the fleeing Uighur forces, the Kyrgyz occupied the whole of Mongolia as well as Jungaria and Eastern Turkestan. In 848 A.D., the Kyrgyz gained control over part of Manchuria and Trans Baikal. As a result, the political territory of the Kyrgyz stretched from the upper Amur in the east to Tien Shan in the west. The state was of empire type. Academician V. V. Bartold has aptly called this stage (IX-X cc.) in the development of Kyrgyz statehood in Yenisei, a “Kyrgyz Great Power”.⁴ He also indicated the real events in the history of Yenisei Kyrgyz in IX-X cc. which has gained wide international attention due to being a subject of great importance for the peoples of Central Asia.

The Kyrgyz steppe empire did not last long. Already in the X c. the Kyrgyz having defeated the enemies, left vast area of Central Asia and

came back to Yenisei, their land of abundance. With the aim of controlling rich trading cities and oases of Eastern Turkestan and Semirechye, the Yenisei Kyrgyz left behind considerable part of their contingent in Altai. In due course, they were assimilated into local Kimak-Kypchak inhabitants. This new ethnic association in Altai retained the name “Kyrgyz” and formed a principality by the same name. Since then, the two groups of the Yenisei Kyrgyz became separated. The Altai Kyrgyz in the second half of XV c. occupied Tien Shan and formed one component in the formation of Kyrgyz nationality.

Historians bring up different reasons for unexpected re-emigration after such a brilliant victory but these are not recorded in written sources. In this connection, there are different opinions in scholarly literature:

1. The Kyrgyz were forced out of Central Asia by Mongol speaking Karakitais;
2. The Kyrgyz exhausted their human resources in wars and so they were not able to control such a vast territory;
3. According to L.N. Gumilov who considered that steppes were not ecologically suited to the economic-cultural relations with the Kyrgyz and being farmers, craftsmen and later cattle-breeders they “...did not claim the steppe... They (the Kyrgyz) left it long ago and went to the land of abundance in Minusinsk hollow where they could live a settled life and grow crops and never migrated.”⁵

Despite being short lived, the epoch of Kyrgyz Great Power reached a climax in the history of Yenisei Kyrgyz and left its mark on ethno-cultural process of numerous nomadic Turkic speaking people. Data has revealed that the Yenisei Kyrgyz as an ethnic component formed many contemporary Central Asian peoples; such as Yakuts, Tuvans, Bashkir, Nogois, Kalmyks and Fujuy Kyrgyz which of course as one of the remote ancestors of modern Kyrgyz nation gave the name to its state-Kyrgyzstan. However, the state of Yenisei Kyrgyz by the XIII c. had broken into several independent areas which were easily conquered by Chingiz Khan’s troops. Though according to the sources, the Yenisei Kyrgyz had been opposing Mongol power for almost twenty years, still

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in 1293 A.D. the Mongols managed to smash unprecedented opposition of the insurgents. The state of the Yenisei Kyrgyz was totally destroyed.

In the light of the formation of contemporary ethno-political territory of the Kyrgyz people, the problem of ethno-genetic and ethno-cultural ties between the Yenisei and Tien Shan Kyrgyz has attracted wide attention due to its being one of the most complicated issues in the historical studies of the Kyrgyz. And nevertheless, at present, having remained same as two hundred years ago this complicated problem has many debatable aspects:

1. Upper regions of the Yenisei and the Irtysh form the main ethnic territory of the Kyrgyz people and from there the Kyrgyz gradually migrated to their modern territory (starting from ancient times up to the XVII c.). For the first time, this opinion was expressed by Russian historians of Siberia, G.F. Miller⁶ and E.I. Fisher⁷ and was further developed by Academician V.V. Radlov.⁸ Later, the thesis in its variants on the migration of the Yenisei Kyrgyz to Tien Shan, transformation of the ethnonym “Kyrgyz” into ethno-politonym and vast geographical area of the Kyrgyz territory stretching from the Yenisei to Tien Shan was further developed in the works of V.V. Bartold.⁹ O.K. Karaev has been actively working to substantiate the point of view, according to which the Kyrgyz nationality was formed on the Yenisei basin and they (Yenisei Kyrgyz) settled in Tien Shan in IX-X cc. This view is being supported by many more. Conducive to it, to a certain extent, there have been categorical statements by the authors of historiographical review of the first volume of the *History of Kyrgyz SSR*, according to which “Yenisei Kyrgyz” are not direct and immediate ancestors of Kyrgyz nation, rather on their basis Hakass nationality was formed.¹² Analysis of different hypotheses and scientific elaboration of preceding and contemporary scientists have proved that historical and ethno-cultural ties between the Yenisei and Tien Shan Kyrgyz were deliberately repudiated by Soviet ideologues. The questions, however, were withdrawn after publication of the collection of articles based on the information provided by medieval authors as well as materials of archeology, ethnography, lexicons and folklore on the ethnic history of the Kyrgyz.¹³

2. The idea is that the Kyrgyz are autonomous and historically the territory of Kyrgyzstan is limited to Tien Shan mountains and partly to Ferghana valley with almost modern state border. This opinion has been expressed and proved by N.Y. Bichurin¹⁴, Ch. Valikhanov¹⁵, N.A. Aristov¹⁶ and in the Soviet times by A.Kh. Margulan¹⁷ along with many others who were forced to support the official view.
3. As the historical science develops, the position discussed below finds more supporters who are convinced both with facts and the logic of the hypotheses. The Kyrgyz nationality was formed in Tien Shan on the basis of autonomous tribes and tribal associations who got assimilated themselves with tribes of Central Asian and south Siberian origin.¹⁸ This was a long process, covering almost a three thousand years long period and had completed by the XVI c. Most historians emphasize here intermediary geographical environment, such as Altai. This hypothesis was formulated at a conference on “Ethnogenesis of the Kyrgyz people” held in Furnze in 1956, where long debates both in written and oral forms were summed up.¹⁹ Scholars like S.M. Abramzon²⁰ and K.I. Petrov²¹ developed a more detailed and concretized principle on the basis of a two-component process leading to the formation of Kyrgyz nationality.

At present, Kyrgyz historians and ethnographers like O.K. Karaev, V.P. Mokrynin, A.M. Mokeev, I.B. Moldovaev, V.M. Ploskih, T. Chorotegin and others are actively involved in studying the process of the origin of the Kyrgyz people. Participants at the International Conference on “Ethnogenesis of Kyrgyz nation” (1994, Bishkek) unanimously noted in their final resolution that final stages in the formation of Kyrgyz nation took place in central Tien Shan in XV-XVI cc. during the course of a long process of interaction between aboriginal tribes and migrating Kyrgyz tribes. It is here, according to sources, that the Kyrgyz revived at the end of the XV c. their ethno-political structure combined with dual organization of tribes and united in two “Wings”- “Left Wing” and “Right Wing” with a separate kin-tribal association *Ichkilik*. Only after the origin of this structure the process of formation of Kyrgyz nation was completed.²²

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Thus, in this way scientists have confirmed the main principle of components and vast area of the formation of Kyrgyz nationality. However, in Ancient and Middle Ages, the formation of Kyrgyz ethno-political territory passed through several stages which can tentatively be identified as following :

Central Asian

The first information about the existence of “Kyrgyz” domain has been found in 201 B.C. At that time, they were already having a supreme ruler and the army. This area was located in the outlying districts of Huns domain near the lake Kyrgyz Nor or between the lake Alakol and Boro Horo range.

Yeniseian

During the early middle ages Minusinsk hollow in the middle Yenisei remained an ethno-cultural territory of the Kyrgyz. In this regard, advanced culture of ancient Kyrgyz has been well studied according to which the ethno-political territory of the Kyrgyz was wider than the ethno-cultural one. In the beginning, it included only Tuva, but starting from the middle of IX-X cc. it had covered a wide area of Central Asia. A number of sub-ethnic cultures of the Kyrgyz were also formed. However, at the end of XIII c. the state of Kyrgyz in Yenisei was destroyed by the Mongols.

Altaiian

One of Kyrgyz sub-culture was formed in Altai and Jungaria. Here the culture of the Yenisei Kyrgyz was Kypchakized. The language changes gradually changed the appearance of Europeid Kyrgyz. In XIII-XV cc., the Altai Kyrgyz joined the system of states whose political centre was Tien Shan.

In the late middle ages and in the beginning of new age, the most significant event occurred was migration and re-emigration of the Kyrgyz people which took place in XVII-XVIII cc., and later in XX c. particularly in 1916 which continued for the next five years. Numerous kin-tribal groups of the Kyrgyz living in Tien Shan within modern

Kyrgyzstan as well as in neighbouring territories of Jungaria (Eastern Turkestan), Bukhara Emirate, Kokand Khanate, Afghan Turkestan found themselves involved in these migrations. These forced mass migrations of the Kyrgyz were connected with the fight for their ethno-political territory against Jungar, Chinese and Kokand conquerors, as well as against Russian colonization which they did not avoid.

Certain part of the Kyrgyzs temporarily driven back from their nomad camps during the course of Jungar aggression of XVII c. were displaced to Ferghana and its foothills, though some tribes stayed back in Tien Shan and Semirechye. The range of migration in both the horizontal and vertical directions was hundreds of kilometers and territorial boundaries were not observed to cross mountains particularly in such difficult circumstances. Depending on the political circumstances in those regions where the Kyrgyz lived in their usual life style of nomads, they now became subjects of Jungar Khanate, Bukhara Emirate and Kokand Khanate. Upto the middle of XIX c. demarcation of state structures in this region was conventional.

With the defeat of Jungar Khanate in 1758-1759 A.D. and the conquest of Eastern Turkestan by Ching Empire, a Chinese province named Xinjiang "New territory" was formed. In western China rebellions of Muslim nationalities (Uighur, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Dungan) against Manchu Chinese authorities repeatedly broke up, which resulted in temporary loss of the region by the Ching. Non-Chinese people created independent feudal theocratic states of Yettishar, (*Alty Shahr*), Taranchi Khanate and Dungan Sultanate which existed from 1864 till 1877. The strongest and the biggest among them was Yettishar (*Alty Shahr*) which occupied part of Eastern Turkestan. During this period, the territory where the Kyrgyz settled (within the Republic) was subordinate to Kokand Khanate. They together with Kokand Khanate were conquered by Russia where also numerous rebellions took place with active participation sometimes even under the leadership of the Kyrgyz.

We will now consider the settlement of Kyrgyz nation in XVIII-XIX cc. in the period of rise of Kokand Khanate and then its conquest by Russia as well as spreading of Kyrgyz ethnos beyond the changing borders of Kokand.

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In his time Ch. Valihanov, one of the first researchers of the history of Kokand Khanate and the author of a number of “notes” on the Kyrgyz surprisingly indicated a noteworthy phenomenon about the vast settlements of Kyrgyz kin-tribal groups in spacious Middle and Central Asia living for a long time far from the borders of modern Kyrgyzstan: “Kyrgyz tribe in its dissemination occupies an enormous area of Central Asia and spreads as far as to the South.” Ch. Valihanov wrote, “Generations of Dikokamenny Kyrgyz are scattered with their nomad camps from the Issyk Kul to Ghissar and Badakshan and from Suzak to Aksu and Uch Turfan. Having their isolated nomad encampments in unassailable valleys of Bolor range and its spurs within the lands belonging to China, Kokand, Karategin, Ghissar and Badakshan they do not have any political unity and even kinship relations became invalid due to the distance. The Kyrgyz tribe in its dissemination represents a notable fact”²³.

Outside Tien Shan and Pamir-Alai (within the boundaries of modern Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan) where since XVI c. the main branch of Kyrgyz people are concentrated, in Central Asia many bearers of once common Kyrgyz ethnos constantly lived. It continued until the period of actual short-term independence of the Kyrgyz after the defeat of Jungar Khanate by Ching China and before the conquest by Kokand of southern and then northern part of Kyrgyzstan, as well as with active advancement of Tsarism to Kazakhstan and Central Asia starting from the middle of XIX c. up to 1876, when one by one the lands of Kokand passed under its power up to the elimination of this Khanate.

At the end of XIVc. and the beginning of XVIc. in Tien Shan and its adjoining regions, different Kyrgyz nationals lived. The territory was later occupied in XVIII-XIX cc. by Kyrgyz tribes and the whole area seemed to have been much wider than the territory of modern Kyrgyzstan. They settled not only on the territories of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan, but their camps also reached up to Eastern Turkestan as far as Turfan, Kashgar and Yarkand and in Afghanistan, on Pamirs in the Badakshan, Balkh and Wakhan corridor, that is on the lands far from the territory of Kyrgyzstan. The Kyrgyz society at that time did not have centralized power and other attributes of a united states which weakened

the Kyrgyz, and the more powerful neighbouring rulers later seized the lands which had long been cultivated by the Kyrgyz. And this together with traditional nomadic cattle-breeding aspects influenced both the settlement and migration of isolated Kyrgyz tribes. The Kyrgyz firmly held the territory near the Issyk Kul in the north and near Osh and Andijan in Ferghana valley in the south.

Following are the examples of migration of some big tribes in order to get a better idea of the Kyrgyz settlements :

- (a) Northern Kyrgyz tribes (Bugu, Sarybagysh, Sayak) migrated along the Issyk Kul lake and rivers Ulahol and Aksu, in the foothills of Terskei Ala-Too, on southern slopes of Muzart, the Upper Naryn, Karkara valley, the Upper Illi and the Tekes.
- (b) Large tribe Solto traditionally settled in the Chui valley in the foothills of the Kyrgyz Ala-Too range, on rivers Chui and Talas.
- (c) Nomad camps of Cheriks reached the boundaries of Eastern Turkestan around the towns of Aksu and Uch Turfan.
- (d) Tribes Kushchu, Saru`u and Kytai occupied eastern part of the Talas valley and surrounded by mountains and foothills.²⁴
- (e) South-Kyrgyz tribes, mainly from the large kinship-tribal grouping "Ichkilik" occupied eastern Ferghana including Uzgen, Jalalabad and Osh localities spreading to the west in mountainous places upto Kokand, while in the east upto Gulchian valley and mountain ravines of Alai, from Margelan between Uch Korgon and Min Tuibe, in ravines Altyn Dara and Koksus, etc.²⁵

At the time of Kokand Khanate, a schematic (non detailed) picture of the settlement of main Kyrgyz tribes of the land of Kyrgyzstan including the neighbouring areas as well as inner territories of the latter shows that the Kyrgyz by the time firmly established themselves in the regions where they lived, adhering to their traditional economic activities and possessed steadfast national consciousness of their ethnic and kinship-tribal identity. Not rejecting links and contacts with neighboring peoples, the Kyrgyz certainly could not avoid assimilation process in those places where they were minority among people of a different nation.

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After the abolition of Kokand Khanate in 1876, Russia became successor to all its lands. Two great powers Russia and China who entered into territorial relationship, had to define the borders of their domains. The legal basis for Russian-Chinese territorial demarcation on the Kyrgyz part of the border was defined in the Beijing Agreement of 1860,²⁶ Chuguchak Protocol of 1864,²⁷ Petersburg Agreement of 1881,²⁸ Kashgar Protocol of 1882²⁹ and New Margelan Protocol of 1884.³⁰

With the declaration of independence, Kyrgyzstan has already established diplomatic relationship with various states, in particular with neighbouring China, with which we still have to settle the issue of legal registration of the state borders.

Formation of the Kyrgyz statehood took place only in the Soviet period. After the territorial-national delimitation of the Middle (Central) Asia in 1924, Kara-Krygyz Autonomous Oblast was formed as part of the Russian Federation. In 1927, the Kara-Krygyz Autonomous Oblast was transformed into the Krygyz Autonomous Socialist Republic. In 1936 A.D. the Krygyz Autonomous Socialist Republic became one of the fifteen Union republics within the USSR. In 1991 after the disintegration of the former Soviet Union it gained sovereignty and now is a part of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

In the last 20-30 years of XX c. cardinal changes took place in the destiny of Kyrgyz nation. The Kyrgyz got their state territory though without having Kyrgyz national figures of that time. Nevertheless this limited administrative-territorial unit formed the basis for the declaration of Kyrgyz sovereignty in 1991. If we did not have it at the time of disintegration of the Soviet Union, we would have faced with consequences of autonomous formation of the Caucasus or some regions of the Russian Federation, which once again proves the principle of non-realisation of national political tendencies of small and large ethnoses in the former "Red Empire". Objectively, when any multinational state tries to attain integrity of its territory, the fate of empires are such that according to Sovietologist H.Seton-Watson, "A low ingratitude of colonies snaps into action."³¹

The process of territorial-national delimitation of Soviet Central Asia, in fact took place between 1924 to 1927A.D. For some people in Soviet

Turkestan, this historical moment was an acquisition, while for others it was a loss. Borders between prospective Republics and regions were established conventionally, though not always accurately and not everywhere justly. For example, according to Academician R.M. Masov, for Tajik people this process was a “clumsy delimitation”. Tajiks were historically deprived of their own cultural centers such as Bukhara and Samarkand.³²

Different attitude of Moscow towards apportioning of this or that territory has its own reasons. “According to the principle of border condition within the USSR, the land in fact, did not belong to nations and even their state formations. As a master enjoying its full rights the Union government had run them. However, its political, military, strategic and economic interests, later caused territorial losses also”.³³

Regarding Kyrgyzstan, “territorial interests mostly suffered from the principle of economic expedience which gave preference to Uzbeks and Tajiks with their long tradition of cotton growing culture. The principle of inadmissibility of excessive ethnic mix- up, curved lines in the borders and intrusion in foreign territories was used one-sidedly and to the detriment of Kyrgyzstan’s interests. No other republic of Central Asia has such kind of odd curved border lines and foreign enclaves within itself, though there are regions having compact residence of the Kyrgyz both in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan”.³⁴

Despite all this, the Kyrgyz Republic as well as Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan do not raise disputable frontier issues in order to avoid occurrence of any conflict situation. Meanwhile, it is necessary to recognize without delay, actually formed borders (for Kyrgyzstan within “the remaining” borders) and legally reinforce them on an inter state level.

Taking into account the military political situation on Afghan-Tajik border which is complicated and unstable despite several peace-keeping measures on the part of neighbouring countries and Russia, still there is no system and guarantee of security in the Central Asian region. “Due to the transparency of borders which allow easily to bring arms and drugs, the possibility of destabilization all over the region is quite real. Here we need to have comprehensive assistance from international organizations

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of the UNO and SCEC in order to get legal registration of state borders as well as territorial integrity of Central Asian countries within the existing borders”.³⁵

Summarizing as a whole the formation of ethno-political territory and state borders of Kyrgyzstan, one can note that the ethno-political territory of the Kyrgyz people from ancient times to IX-X cc. seemed to have been expanding, diminishing in XVI-XIX cc. and by the end of XIX c. there had been a historical-geographical gap in the development of Kyrgyz ethnos, since part of Kyrgyz people made their homes in many neighbouring states. The area of settlement of Kyrgyz tribes in XVI-XIX cc. was not limited to the territory of modern Kyrgyzstan but stretched far beyond its limits, where at present the Kyrgyz remain as a national minority. Different sources provide an account of the duration of residence of the Kyrgyz all over the territory. It is noteworthy that the Kyrgyz ethnos was formed under pressure from more stronger neighbours in the third part of the XIX c.

Modern state borders took shape during 1924-1927 A.D. at the period of national-state delimitation of peoples of Central Asia, which provided for the Republics the possibility to develop themselves in a common Soviet system with its positive and negative phenomenon of unitary totalitarian state. With the acquisition of sovereignty in Kyrgyzstan as well as in other Republics of the “Commonwealth” not only socio-economic and socio-political problems came into being but also problems of foreign policy which are related to the problem of territorial integrity of the state and the peaceful resolution of conflict, etc.

Kyrgyzstan is oriented towards building a democratic, secular and legal state. And in doing so it is committed to :

- (a) establishment of Kyrgyzstan as a full fledged subject of international relations;
- (b) formation of Kyrgyz legislation;
- (c) creation of working mechanism of state power based on the principle of division of legislative, executive and judicial activity.

According to the constitution adopted in 1993, which was re-introduced in 1995 with amendments and alterations, the Kyrgyz Republic is an independent state oriented towards building democracy.

Kyrgyzstan recognizes the Declaration of Helsinki summit meeting of SEC (1992), joined the NATO Program of “Partnership for Peace” (1994), and signed multilateral agreements with Russian Federation (1995), etc. Kyrgyzstan has also concluded a number of agreements with CIS countries on the security of its own borders which are part of outer borders of CIS. At the same time, territorial integrity and independence form the basis of Kyrgyzstan’s sovereignty which depends on national security. In this connection, it is necessary to create a line of security and good neighbourhood in the Central Asian region along with internal (Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Iran) and external, as well as neighbouring countries (China, Afghanistan, Iran) state borders.

Kyrgyzstan has integrated itself into the world community. It has the support from the larger countries in economic, social, cultural and other fields. Many agreements with foreign countries have also been concluded, in particular with India. Within a short span of three to five years over 10 contracts and agreements have been signed between Kyrgyzstan and India on cooperation in various fields like, trade, economic, political, science and technology, cultural, education, public health, tourism, sports, etc. Indeed, further development of friendly relations between the peoples of India and Kyrgyzstan will promote collaboration, awareness and rapprochement of cultures in the years to come.

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KYRGYZSTAN ON THE GREAT SILK ROAD AND CULTURAL RELATIONSHIP WITH INDIA

V. Voropoeva and V. Goryacheva

The years 1989-1998 are known in the history of cultural life of the world as the period of “peoples’ dialogue” in the framework of the “World Culture Decade” which was approved in 1987 by the UNESCO. Hundreds of specialists from over 30 countries including Kyrgyzstan through which the “Silk Road” passed, were included in implementation of this programme.

Till now no special study on the Great Silk Road was conducted in Kyrgyzstan. Only brief and scanty information has been available in general works and encyclopedic dictionaries. But in the light of the international programme of UNESCO this theme gains not only scientific but also national significance. A Coordination Board has been set up for the development and implementation of the Programme “Kyrgyzstan on the Great Silk Road”, with participation of scientific institutions, creative associations, ministries, agencies and tourist organizations. There are programmes in the country for the revival of cultural-historical traditions of the Kyrgyz people, such as folk arts and crafts, national games and competitions, folk musical creative works, traditions and rituals, production of souvenirs and badges, publishing of literature, study and preservation of historical and cultural monuments along the Great Silk Road, as well as for the development of international and domestic tourism.

And what was the Great Silk Road like? “Great Silk Road” is an agreed name for a trans-continental land road of ancient and middle ages which existed for about 15 centuries. The ancient route of economic and cultural ties linked three parts of the world - Asia, Europe and Africa passing from the Far East through Central and Middle Asia, India, Afghanistan, Iran, Western Asia to Mediterranean countries. This road got its name as “Silk Road” from the main trade article silk and silk goods, which originated from China. Some parts of trade routes in their time were

named like, “Arurite route”, “Glass Route”, “Amber Route”, etc. The trans-continental trade route, from the East to the West started to form several branches in various directions, which led from the main road in meridian direction to the south to India, in the north to West and South Siberia, Central Asia. For example, there existed “West Meridian Route”, “Kyrgyz Route” on the Yenisei, “Uighur Route” along Eastern Turkestan, etc.

The Great Silk Road is not simply a trade route but political events, cultural relationship of different ethnoses and states located along the Road were related to it. As a result of active exchange of cultural values, creative enrichment of peoples took place. Thanks to its geographical position Central Asia holds a prominent place on the Great Silk Road. Its territory with difficult passes in the mountain systems of Pamir and Tien Shan divided two big regions with their inner routes and production centres : west-eastern and eastern - between the rivers Hwanhe and Yangtze. For a long time both regions were developed without apparent contacts, until the Tien Shan-Pamir barrier was overcome. In historical science this is related to the trips of Chinese Ambassador Chjan Tsan to Kushan Kingdom (between 138-226 B.C.). One can however, assume that the Silk Road started functioning as far back as IV c B.C.

In the history of the Great Silk Road there were periods of upsurge and crisis, and finally complete loss of its significance. Movement of caravans along the route was connected with the policy of powerful eastern states and with the movement of nomads, the Great Silk Road was “an apple of discord”. Great empires and small states tried to gain control over as much part of the route as possible, constructed caravan-sarais , built fortresses, maintained military garrisons. This road was an object of expansionist campaigns, the arena of robbery and violence.

It cannot be described as common and constant paved route with particular localities and trade centres. Caravan routes often followed cattle-driving routes of nomads, intermediate stations changed strictly preserving main directions east-west and backward. In the case of high mountains of Tien Shan and Pamir, natural geographical factor was more evident than in the plains. That is why routes on the territory of Kyrgyzstan remained practically the same during many hundreds of years.

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Since ancient times three branches of the Great Silk Road have been crossing Kyrgyzstan :

1. Southern branch led from Merv to Balkh and Termez, near Termez there was a crossing to the right side to the Amu Darya river. Further up the river and its tributary Kyzyl Su ascended Alai. Along Alai through the region of present Irkeshtam, there was the way to Kashgar and Khotan. In different times of history a Macedonian merchant Maes (IIc.B.C.), Suan Tzen, on his way back from India (mid VIIc.), Marco Polo (XIIc.) passed this way. Ferghana and northern branches of the trade route started in Samarkand, which led to the south to Rabat Zamin. Here the route forked.
2. Ferghana branch led from Zamin to Isfara, Sokh and Osh. The mountain Barakuh, or Takhti-Suleiman as it is called locally in Osh is considered to be main landmark on the Silk Road described by Ptolemy. Osh was a big trade-centre. From here caravans followed two directions: through Mady, crossing Chirchik and Taldyk to Alai to Irkeshtam; and through Uzgen up the Yassy River to central Tien Shan and At Bash (Koshoi-Korgon), across passes Ton or Djuuku to the Issyk Kul, where there was a second big crossing station -upper Barskhan.

Ferghana branch is primary. It is through Alai and Ferghana that in the IIc.B.C. Suan Tzen passed. It was he who opened to Han China the exotic Western lands.

3. The Northern branch of Great Silk Road led from Rabat Zamin to Binket (Tashkent), Kulan (St.Lugovaya), Merki (Merket), Nuzket (Karabalty), Navekat (Krasnaya Rechka), Suyab (Ak Beshim). From here through Boom ravine caravans reached the Issyk Kul hollow, where most often the road passed along the southern shore through towns Yar (near Rybachye), Ton (ruins of Khan Dobe, to south of Tort Kul) and upper Barskhan. From upper Barskhan caravans followed two directions:
 - (a) Through Juuku ravine to the central Tien Shan, crossing Bedel and to Eastern Turkestan. In 629A.D. Suan Tzen followed this route.

- (b) Through San Tash to Mongolia and Siberia. It is also called “Kyrgyz Route.” Plano Carpini (1245-1247 A.D.) and Willilmi Rubruk (1252-1256 A.D.) travelled part of this way.

In XVIII and XIX cc in particular, routes of the former Silk Road became routes for movement of Russian and Western European travellers who also studied the natural wealth of Central Asia. Exchanges between Central Asia and Chinese dating back to Ic.B.C. continued up to VIIIc.A.D. Early texts of Chinese chronicles describe gifts sent from countries in Central Asia to the court of the Chinese Emperor. Horses from Davani (Ferghana) and Tokharistan were highly valued. It is known that gifts from China were sent in those cases when the Emperor wanted to attract on his side some Asian rulers. These were silk and exquisite art works by Chinese skilled craftsmen. According to the Chinese chronicles gold, tents, “different costly things” were sent from China as gifts.¹

In later centuries, up to the formation of Arab Caliphate Sassanid Iran (224-651 A.D.) played the role of intermediaries in international trade and culture transmission. Through Iran to Constantinople great amounts of silk would come. It became a sort of tool in the hands of Byzantine diplomacy, as it was used both for meeting the demands of Byzantine nobility and for bribing European rulers and Turkic leaders.

Taking advantage of favourable position on the Silk Road, the Iranians confiscated most of the goods as duty and sold silk at higher price to Byzantine. That is why Byzantine was interested in transferring the caravan road out of Iran. In their turn, the Turks accumulated a great amount of stolen goods and got as a tribute silk for expanding their trade. As a result, a union of Byzantine and Turkic Khanates against Iran was developed, and the trade route shifted to the north. If in the first century A.D., China's links with far away Black Sea side were maintained through Kashgar and Ferghana valley, then in V-VII cc. a new trade route passed through East Turkestan and Hami, Issyk Kul, Chui, Talas valleys (contemporary Kyrgyzstan), Sogd and further to the northern Caspian Sea side, steppes of Caucasus, the lower Volga, to the valley of Kuban and eventually to Constantinople. Transfer of main land route to the northern regions of Kazakhstan and Semirechye and concentration

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of control over trade in Turkic Khanate contributed to active urbanisation along the trade routes and to the reform of the economy in these regions. In the northern Tien Shan starting from VIc together with nomadic cattle-breeding there appears settled crop-growing, and at the end of VII beginning VIII c. its own coins modelled as Chinese but with Sogdian legend (Turgesh type of Eastern coins), were issued.

In the second half of VIII up to IX c. considerable changes took place in the system of international links of Central Asia. As a result of the Tibetan invasion of Eastern Turkestan and Western China the whole central part of the Great Silk Road from Ichjow to Gansu corridor came under Tibetan control. This created serious obstacles for land trans-continental trade and cultural contacts. Starting from VIII c. there was only sea communication between China and India.²

In X c. the international importance of the Great Silk Road grew again due to the intermediary role of Samanids in trade relationship between China, Arab Caliphate and Byzantine. Among big caravan roads passing through Khorasan and Maverannahar the most busy was the road leading from Mediterranean countries to China. It passed through Baghdad, Hamadan, Nishapur, Merv, Amu, Bukhara, Samarkand, Ustrushana, Chach, Taraz, Balasagun and Issyk Kul. After Mongolian invasion the Great Silk Road was used by the Mongols for developing links with the countries of Western, Middle and Central Asia. Its function as a means of communication, diplomatic, state and economic links was preserved under Timur and his successors in XIV-XV cc. Economic disruption and political troubles in a number of Eastern countries during late middle ages, transfer of international trade due to discovery of the sea routes, put an end to the movement of caravans along the Great Silk Road.

As regards the migration of people along the Great Silk Road, the earliest written information about migration of Central Asian tribes along this Road goes back to the first half of IV c B.C. In IV-IIIc.B.C. Juetzs moved along the “western meridian” Road and drove Huns back to the west. Most Juetzs migrated to Bactria and participated in the formation of Kushan kingdom. Large number of Buddha’s followers also moved here from India to disseminate Buddhist teaching. The role of Buddhism

is reflected in a great number of religious buildings in the territory of Northern Tokharistan and Merv, from II c in China and Eastern Turkestan, and during V-VIIc also in Semirechye. Penetration of Buddhism into these regions was the immediate result of trade and cultural contacts along the Silk Road. The fact that Buddhism in China first started spreading not among the common people but among the nobility mainly in urban areas demonstrates that Buddhism became the religion of townsmen due to close ties of Buddhism with trading activity.³

Sogdians played an important role on the Great Silk Road. Their penetration to Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan goes back to IV-IIIcc B.C. and is connected with expansionist campaigns by Alexander the Macedonian. Significant Sogdian colonies and settlements existed in the main centre of eastern regions of Western and Eastern Turkestan starting from the first centuries of our era.

The period of early Middle Ages was the time of the maximum expansion of "Sogdian world", their colonies in VI-VIII cc were well known in China, Mongolia, Eastern Turkestan, in the south east of contemporary Turkmenistan, on Crimea shore, as well as in Ferghana and Semirechye. Sogdian cultural standards which became a model for the settled culture of Middle Asia were of great importance for the formation of settlement structure and culture of ancient Turkic Khanates with own original rumic alphabet, based on the Sogdian alphabet.⁴

Traditionally this ethnos is related also to dissemination of Buddhism in Khanates in Tien Shan. Nevertheless, recent investigations by Russian archeologists show that Buddhism does not hold the most prominent place in the life of Sogdian community, unlike in neighbouring Tokharistan. Citizens of Samarkand and Pendjikent where several ancient temples were excavated, were neither Buddhists nor Hindus, though Buddha was included into Sogdian pantheon together with local gods (Vashagn, Veretrangha, Nana, Surja).⁵

To a certain extent this is true about Sogdians from numerous colonies of northern Tien Shan, where the role of Tokharistan in the destiny of Buddhist communities in this region is becoming more and more distinct, which probably is also explained by the historical situation at the time.

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There existed close ties between Turkic Khans and local rulers of Tokharistan before and during Arab invasion of these regions, and there was joint struggle and mass migration of Tokhars and Sogdians from southern regions to the Chui valley, towns, headquarters of Khans-Sujab and Navekat - where the most famous monuments of Buddhism of VII-VIII cc in Kyrgyzstan were discovered.

Thus, one can speak about rather indirect links of India and ancient inhabitants on the territory of contemporary Kyrgyzstan, that is, in ancient Turkic Khanates in Tien Shan in VI-IX cc. At this time one can observe the most intensive dissemination of Buddhism and Hinduism, apparently peacefully co-existing in Buddhist communities, as it is observed in the parts of India itself (Kashmir) during the rule of Gupta dynasty.⁶ However, important Indian bronze and stone artefacts of earlier period came to be found after excavations of several monuments in Kyrgyzstan : Tomb Kara Bulak (Ferghana valley) and sites of ancient settlements in Chui valley. It is a bronze sculptural handle of a mirror in the form of a dancer dated II-IIIcc A.D. and high relief made of shale depicting everyday scene, II-V cc A.D.⁷ Wider assortment of Indo-Buddhist import is observed during VII-IX cc, when bronze plastic art items literally flooded monasteries and temples all along the Great Silk Road where followers of Indian religions, which by that time had spread worldwide, formed separate colonies.

One may say that direct contacts between northern India and Tien Shan in VII-IX cc, represented the golden age of Buddhist-Hindu culture in medieval Kyrgyzstan. But we do not have confirmation of this in written sources, though sculpture brought here is an index of developed commercial activity. According to French Indologist Zh. Zherne “there exists historical relationship: dissemination of Buddhism in China and the development of commercial flow between the Far East and Buddhist states of relics and holy texts were traded on the same geographical routes as other goods”.⁸

On a historical-cultural plane in the ancient times the present day Kyrgyzstan formed a common territory with Eastern Turkestan region, where Buddhism took deep roots as far back as II-IV cc and even

today it has not lost its importance in several regions. It is known from numerous sources that the earliest Buddhists came along the route to the East inhabited by the natives of Central Asia -Sogdians, Juachis, Parthians, Khanguis. Of great historical and cultural significance was the action of An Shigao, a Parthian from Marghilan in succeeding the Prince of his country who rejected the throne like Sakyamuni. He settled in Loyan in 148 A.D. and up to 170 A.D. continued to work on the translation of Buddhist works into Chinese. This was no doubt the first historical apostle of Central Asian Buddhism. After him there had been a galaxy of interpreters of Indian holy texts and also authors of new literary and historical works on Buddhist theme, who are well known in the monuments of Hotan, Tibetan, Chinese and Sogdian language literature.⁹ But even in places of early penetration of Buddhism in China, where a significant part of Indian ethnos lived and many cave and Buddhist monasteries with magnificent paintings and sculpture works were built for example, Tzen-Fo-Dun (cave of 1000 Buddhas), we can assume that in this provincial western centre both the religion and works of Buddhist art came not directly from Eastern Turkestan but probably from Sogd, where, in the first century A.D., Buddhism prevailed and where the most outstanding monuments were created. But to a considerable extent they are distinct and different from their Indian prototypes. Existence of famous icon-painters of Buddhist paintings with Sogdian names and nick-names, which indicate their Central Asian origin speaks in favour of this assumption.¹⁰

Thus, both in terms of activities by missionaries and translators as well as in the building of temples and other creative practices in Eastern Turkestan, different researchers draw attention to the leading role played by representatives of the ancient Central Asian ethnos, who were considered to be the first to transmit Indian culture to the East. All these facts can be ascribed to Kyrgyzstan as well, though Buddhist monuments were discovered here much later by A.N. Bernshtan during archeological exploration of the whole territory of the Republic between 1933-1954 A.D. Works “in the style of Gandhar art” discovered by him and remains of architecture with sculptures and paintings at a number of ancient sites of the Chui valley including Ak Beshim, Krasnaya

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Rechka, Karadjigach, Novopavlovka, Sokuluk, etc., indicate the main contours of historical-cultural relationship among Tien Shan, Eastern Turkestan and India since first centuries AD up to XII c. inclusive.¹¹ Subsequent researchers considerably restricted chronological framework of dissemination of this religion to IX c. and alterations were introduced in making interpretation of excavated structures by him. But the main conclusion given by A.N. Bernshtam about “powerful influence of Buddhist culture of Northern India and Xinxan on the culture of Semirechye” remains true.

A new stage in the investigation of Buddhist monuments on the territory of Kyrgyzstan was opened by excavation of two temples in Ak Beshim in the 1950s by L.R. Kyzlasov and L.P. Zyablin.¹² This was followed by another investigation of two temples in Krasnorechensk settlement by P.N. Kozhemyako (1961-1963 A.D.), V.D. Goryacheva and S.Y. Peregudova in 1980-1988 A.D. A series of bronze artefacts and items made up of stone, alabaster and ceramics were included in scientific use in Novopokrovskoye settlement.¹³ As regards a number of Buddhist monuments, one may ascribe the epigraphics in Issyk Ata ravines and on southern shore of the Issyk Kul lake as related to the settlement of Tibetan Buddhists in early medieval ages.¹⁴

In all the seven Buddhist architectural structures thus recorded, the most ancient being the so called second Ak Beshim temple VIIc., was explored by L.P. Zyablin in 1955. It was located within 100 metres from the southern wall of Shahrستان and 250 metres to the west of the second Ak Beshim Temple VII-VIIIcc. According to literary sources, “the first Ak Beshim Temple” which functioned till the middle of VIIIc, was excavated by L.R. Kyzlasov in 1953-1954 A.D.

One of them was a rectangle structure with a square shrine. It had a roundabout hallway on three sides and an eight column hall which separated the courtyard from the shrine. At the entrance there were big clay Buddha sculptures, and inside, according to scientists, there was a bronze gilded bandage on Buddhist objects. The second temple had a closed square building with cross-shaped shrine and two hallways. Central aisle and hallways led to the courtyard. The temple interior was

decorated with numerous sculptures and frescoes on the ceilings and walls. Both temples which were erected (despite dating by L.P. Zyablin) in VIIc, had two construction and two decoration periods, but existed for about or a little over 100 years. Both temples were burnt down and the sculpture was destroyed some time in the second half of VIII c, after which they have not been restored.

There are reasons to change to an earlier period also the date of a “monastery with a chapel” within the town Rabat, namely to the end of VII-VIII cc. General plan of the monastery was not sorted out. It was only established that in the north-western corner of the enclosed monastery area there were dwelling houses and housekeeping buildings; the southern part of the complex was occupied by a courtyard from where one could go into the shrine with roundabout hallway. In the excavation site a large number of architectural details made of clay, granite, sandstone and alabaster including foundation for sculpture were also found. Living rooms were heated with the help of heat conducting channels in masonry and buildings were roofed with pitched tiling. On one of the tiles, a Sanskrit inscription was found and on another, an Uighur one. The tile was of Chinese origin, and all material used was different from the first two temples. As A.N. Bernshtam puts it, they testify to the “interaction of Chinese and Central Asian cultures”.

The second big and important centre on the trade route was Navekat (Krasnorechensk settlement). At this site also two Buddhist architectural monuments were discovered. These monuments as well as those in Ak Beshim were located behind Shahrstan walls, but close to the citadel. Subsequent excavations in one of them have revealed that ruins of temple are part of the structure having longitudinal-axial composition. In 1961 A.D. in the western gallery of the shrine, a sculpture of Sleeping Buddha was excavated and in the southern part fragments of paintings were partly taken off from the wall. The study of architectural remains and other materials also reveals the period of existence of the temple in the middle of the VIII c. as its second construction period.

Initially the temple comprised of a square shrine and a four section roundabout corridor with varying width. The lay-out of the temple

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corresponds with the typological composition of “hall with corridor around” known in religious and civil architecture of Bactria and Parthia later reproduced in Buddhist architecture of Tokharistan and Eastern Turkestan. The interior design included sculpture, mural paintings on surface and plaster decor. Sculpture was placed in the shrine located in the western corridor. Figures were made of red clay fixed on reed-wooden frame. The statue of Sleeping Buddha (up to 12 meters after reconstruction) was modelled on the brick-clay frame, then covered with two layers of clay and painted with red pigment (ochre) without gunch primer.

The temple was reconstructed not later than the middle of VIII c. which period has been identified by findings on the floor of the second construction level of birch bark fragments of Buddhist manuscripts dated by V.V. Vertogradova and M.I. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya to the period VII-middle VIII cc. by Turgesh coin and a bronze sculpture of Boddhisatva Avalokiteshvara imported from Kashmir in VIIIc.

Related to this temple is the finding of a votive stele red granite of Tibetan (according to E.I. Lubo-Lesnichenko) or Turfan (according to F. Granne) origin and dated VII-VIII cc. The right side of the stele in its relief execution reproduces traditional Buddhist icon-painting with three-belt composition : under the arch Buddha is sitting on a lotus, on his right and left sides there are Boddhisattavas (their faces are damaged); beneath there are lions “FO” guarding the mortar and at the foundation of the stele there are kneeling devotees. On the rear side, a sitting Buddha is engraved with a nimbus around his head in the form of wavy lines. On the side edges, divinities Lokpala (Guard of the Universe) and Vaishravana (synchreitic character related to the next world) are engraved in the same technique.

The second Buddhist building of Krasnorechensk settlement was attributed by P.N. Kozhemyako to the last stage of existence of Buddhist communities in Semirechye and were dated to VIII-IX cc. Nevertheless comprehension of the whole complex of Buddhist findings in Chui valley, Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan make it possible to interpret this structure as Manihe shrine - a temple in a monastery complex. Together with some similarity with the above temples (roundabout corridors around

the shrine and painting) this building has several characteristics : small sires, absence of sculpture, different orientation and similarity with Manihei temple in Khodjo.

In Navekat as reported by an-Nedim and *Hudud al-Alam* there lived Maniheis in VIII-X cc (accroding to the sources “Maniheis lived in Samarkand and mainly in Navekat”), and in the later period the town also served as residence of Nestorian archbishop.

Thus, the so called second Buddhist temple of Krasnorechensk settlement can well be interpreted as Maniheian. Availability of paintings in it including picture of Buddha (in a small niche) does not run counter to Manihe icon-painting: God Buddha or Mani Buddha was a favourite image in houses and temples of Maniheis. Mani a founder of a new teaching was quite often compared with Maitreya, the Buddha to come, sometimes it was also called Boddhisattava. Many elements of Buddhist cosmogeny were included in Manihei hymns also. There are no contradictions with Buddhism in Manihei literature either and according to Buddhist models Manihei monasteries in the east were organized.¹⁵

Two Buddhist monasteries of VIII-IX cc¹⁶ are related to medium-size towns: *Pakap* (this Sogdian name is in the inscription from Novopokrovsk settlement, IXc) and *Djul* (Kluchevsk also called Novopavlovsk settlement, in the western outskirts of Bishkek). Sangrama partly excavated by A. N. Bernshtam in Kluchevsk settlement, was located outside Shahrستان walls (68x67m in size). Its internal layout was not ascertained because of late Kyrgyz burials. In the obstructions numerous fragments of sculptures were found (picture of Vajrapani among them) as well as mural paintings identical to Ak Beshim and Krasnorechensk temples in their character and execution technique.

The above religious buildings of Kyrgyzstan go back to Indian prototypes, though they are not their (Indian) immediate replicas. Together with Bactrian-Sogdian building architectural tradition and specific features of temple architecture, the Indian imprint clearly manifests itself, for example in the lay out of temples which provides ritual rounds for the object of workship (a shrine with the main statue of Buddha) in the framed

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construction, icon painting of monumental sculpture and in the technique of paintings etc.

Findings of Indian imprint in several other settlements of the Chui valley (Sokuluk, Alexandrovskoye, Petropavlovskoye, Shish-tube, Kara-Djigach, Burana and the settlement in the outskirts of Bishkek) testifies to a rather wide settlement of Buddhists along the routes for the Great Silk Road. However, there are no findings of Buddhist origin in Talas valley (except Taraz). It is the Issyk Kul hollow to which Buddhist monumental epigraphics (from ravines of rivers Tamga, Djuuku, Ur Ak-Terek and Ak-Ulen) is related and dated to the end of the VIIc-VIIIc, the period of "Tibetan expansion" in Turkestan. These inscriptions contain only the Buddhist hymns *Om mani padme hum*.

Indian written tradition which spread all over the Indian cultural region has recorded the territory of Kyrgyzstan as well. Fragments of *Brahmi* script found on birch bark in the Krasnorechensk temple reflect one of the main types of Indian alphabet. This alphabet was used for writing texts in Sanskrit. Buddhist manuscript on birch bark in *Brahmi* script was kept in the temple as relic. With the discovery of small fragments of several such words, M. I. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya managed to establish that the manuscript was copied in VII-VIIIcc.

These texts were related to writings in the schools of Kashmir, the largest centre for copying of Sanskrit manuscripts. Suan Tzan mentions about the existence of big monasteries and libraries at the court of a local *Raja*, where up to 20 copyists worked at the same time copying holy texts. Significantly according to paleography all the findings of *Brahmi* on birch bark from Central Asia (Kayfr Kala in southern Tajikistan, Merv and Bairam Ali in southern Turkmenistan, Zang Tepe in southern Uzbekistan) have similarity in the handwritings for several centuries.¹⁷

Buddhist monasteries served not only as educational centres in the East but also conducted trading and money lending operations and thus remained occupied with crafts and agriculture, despite the instruction of the Buddhist doctrine for monks to sell only religious objects. That is why one can assume that some part of Indian export in the form of bronze

art and stone items, ceramic bowls modelled with Boddhisattvas and other items were meant for exchange and sale. In this respect, location of monasteries in towns near trade routes is also significant. Constant flow of Indian tradesmen, Buddhist exponents and monks, craftsmen, artists as well as export of related goods of intellectual demand increased the scales of Indian influence.¹⁸

But this invigorating process of cultural contacts between India and Buddhist communities in Central Asia ceased very soon. Researchers of Buddhist cultural tradition relate the desolution of monasteries, devastation of sculpture and paintings, deliberate damage of Buddha's and Boddhisatva's faces on stone reliefs to the change of dynasties in Central Asia : for Kyrgyzstan it was the coming to power of Turgesh and Karluks, for Tokharistan (Adjina Tepe) and Merv (Gaur Kala) of Arabs.¹⁹

After VIII c Buddhism in Kyrgyzstan did not revive unlike in Tibet, Eastern Turkestan and Far Eastern countries where this religion beginning from X-XI cc. started a new turn of its development and local transformations. Ancient Yenisei Kyrgyz as well as groups of East Turkestan Kyrgyz did not stand aside from the influence of Indian Buddhist culture in their folkore, geographical names, moral ethic code and other spheres of every day life and religion. It is safe to speak about common roots of ancient Indian *Ramayana* and Kyrgyz epic *Manas*, but this is also the area of other serious studies as well.

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ON THE TRAIL OF SILK ROUTE

TRAVEL EXPERIENCES IN KYRGYZSTAN

K. Warikoo

The landlocked country of Kyrgyzstan is bordered by Kazakhstan in the north, Uzbekistan in the west, Tajikistan in the south-west and China in the south-east. The picturesque country is famous for its Tien Shan (heavenly mountains), Issyk Kul lake, lush green meadows, flowing streams, rich and variegated flora and fauna and high mountains which cover more than ninety three per cent of its territory, thereby providing lushgreen grasslands to its large livestock. Having considerable hydro-electric energy resources and rich deposits of coal, lead, gold, mercury and other minerals, hydel power, mining and light and food industries are the main areas of economic activity. Following its independence in August 1991 and the adoption of multi-party democratic system, Kyrgyzstan is in its transition to a new order. Notwithstanding its sparse population of over 4.6 million covering a total area of about 198,500 square kms. and the general peace and tranquility prevailing in this country, this process of transition is not entirely smooth. This author had an excellent opportunity to travel through this beautiful country taking almost a round covering Talas, Manas, Bishkek, Urusai, Issyk Kul, Balykchi, Cholpan Ata, Naryn upto Torugart pass during a ten days (26 May - 4 June 1994) drive as member of the first ever overland Central Asian Cultural Expedition to rediscover ancient Silk Route. Another field study visit to Kyrgyzstan (Bishkek and Osh) in November 1997, enabled this author to have fruitful interaction with a cross section of Kyrgyz academics, area specialists, foreign policy advisors, NGO and cultural activists. This paper recapitulates these travel experiences which gave a physical feel of the changes occurring at the socio-economic and cultural levels in Kyrgyzstan in its post-independence era.

The 17 member Indian Central Asia Cultural Expedition (CACE) (May-July 1994) led by Major H.P.S Ahluwalia of the Everest fame, covering more than 17,000 kms. through Uzbekistan; southern Kazakhstan; Kyrgyzstan; Xinjiang, Tibet, Gansu and Qinghai provinces

of China; Nepal and back to Delhi (India) marked a renewal of people to people contact between India and Central Asia. The CACE sought to relive the experience of travel and study of the Central Asian societies and cultures with particular reference to their common Silk Route connection. We entered Kyrgyzstan on 26 May 1994, after completing our tour of Chimkent, Dzhambol and Taraz in the southern part of Kazakhstan. Driving our way along the Talas river, we reached Talas town - the birthplace of Kyrgyz epic hero Manas and the famous Kyrgyz writer and diplomat Changiz Aitmatov. On the way, we stopped at the large reservoir having a capacity of 5 million cubic metres which was built in 1976 A.D. by the Soviets to tap the flush waters of Talas river. Though the Kirov reservoir has now been renamed as Toktogul, the huge bust of Lenin cemented on the hill overlooking the reservoir reminded us of the Soviet contribution to this gigantic engineering feat. At Talas we were treated to a colourful evening of Kyrgyz music and dance and recitation from the epic *Manas* by the Kyrgyz artists.

Next morning (27 May 1994) we drove to Manas and visited the Manas mausoleum and museum. Large stone pillars and some stones with human figures locally known as *Balbals* have been preserved in the Manas precincts, testifying to the pre-Islamic heritage of the Kyrgyzs. Preparations were then afoot to celebrate the 1000th anniversary of Manas in June 1995, which was done on a grand scale as planned. A national historical and cultural complex was being developed at the premises of Manas-Gumbaz in Talas region, which included a big museum housing all archeological and ethnological monuments connected with the legendary Manas. A small mausoleum existing in this premises was also restored. The *Manas* epic is an ancient work of oral poetry having five lakh verses which glorify the legendary Kyrgyz warrior 'Manas' on horseback, it tells us about his courage, valour and love of the motherland and his military feats against the invaders from neighbouring areas. *Manas* has become the symbol of renaissance of the Kyrgyz cultural and historical heritage in independent Kyrgyzstan. Manas-the national hero of Kyrgyzs is being revered. That indigenous traditions associated with *Manas* have not only survived the seventy years of Communist rule, but have been revived with renewed vigour, speaks volumes about the nationalist and

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spiritual resurgence in Kyrgyzstan. The hillock locally named Karal Chaku overlooking the Manas mausoleum is considered sacred by the Kyrgyzs universally. Large number of local people, both young and old throng the place as pilgrims and climb the hill top. No alcohol is served or taken within the premises of the Manas complex which is considered to be sacred. Local people continue to believe that this hillock protects them from any evil influences or enemies. Inside a traditional Kyrgyz *yurt* maintained near the Manas premises, an old Kyrgyz lady offered us tea and bread as she did to all pilgrims coming to Manas, the expenses being covered by contributions from the pilgrims.

During a visit to the Kyrgyz Academy of Sciences, Bishkek in November 1997, this author had a fruitful interaction with the Kyrgyz scholars at the National Centre for Manas Studies established by the Academy. Prof. Musaev, Head of this Centre informed that *Manas* is now taught in schools, colleges and universities as a special “40 hours a year” course of study. *Manas* has become the symbol of national identity, history and common cultural heritage, being seen as a means to consolidate the national unity of the people of Kyrgyzstan. That *Manas* has been translated into Hindi by an Indian scholar, is a matter of gratification, particularly so because the Kyrgyz academics and literateurs greatly admire Indian heroes of *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* comparing these epics to *Manas*. The Kyrgyz specialists trace the origin of word Manas to India. In fact Academician Musaev showed me copy of *Ramcharit Manas* to score his point. One found that the Kyrgyz academics and literateurs cherish deep consciousness and admiration for the Indian heroes from the epic of *Ramayana*.

Though Kyrgyzs are Sunni Muslims by faith, they continue to follow indigenous traditions and customs. However, efforts are on to bring Kyrgyzs closer to the basic tenets of Islam. New Mosques are being built and a few madrassah have also been opened where Quran is being taught to the younger ones. The International Fund of Assistance to the Revival of spiritual culture of Peoples of Kyrgyzstan, *Yyman Insan* was established in 1993 to finance the construction of mosques and madrassah in Kyrgyzstan. About 2000 Kyrgyzs went for the Haj pilgrimage to Mecca in 1994. And some of them were said to have mobilised the requisite

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1200 US dollars to meet their Haj expenses after disposing off their assets including immovable properties. However, initial euphoria for undertaking the Haj pilgrimage appears to have ebbed down due to inflation and high cost of living. Qurban Id, locally called *Kuman-ait* is celebrated with great fervour. At the same time, the ancient tradition of worshipping hillocks, trees, rivers, sun, images and legendary heroes of the Kyrgyz people continues. Similarly, belief in existence of spirits, practice of local shamanism with its elements of magic, removal of bewitchment, evil influences etc. is also prevalent. These beliefs have been passed on from generation to generation in the form of legends, epic poems and stories. Buddhism has been prevalent in Kyrgyzstan mainly in urban centres and towns located along the Silk Route till 12th to 13th century. That the symbol of sun occupies a central place in the national flag of Kyrgyzstan, only reinforces the view that Kyrgyzs continue to rever nature and its elements. This consciousness got translated into the secular political belief of independent Kyrgyzstan, which adopted its constitution in April 1993 declaring itself to be a secular state (Article I).

From Manas we re-entered Kazakhstan at the ancient town of Merket, from where we drove further through gorges, ravines and mountains till we reached Bishkek, the beautiful green capital city of Kyrgyzstan. Surrounded by Ala Tau and Tien Shan mountain ranges and high meadows, Bishkek is quite similar to Srinagar-the summer capital of Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir. We were warmly received by the Mayor of Bishkek on 28 May 1994. Bishkek is the administrative, educational, cultural and industrial centre of Kyrgyzstan. Big statues of Lenin, Manas and Ur Kooya Salieva, a Kyrgyz woman revolutionary stand aloft in the centre of Bishkek. Bishkek is a clean aired city with broad avenues lined by trees and full of parks. The main Lenin square in Bishkek city was now renamed as the Chui square after the historic Chui valley. But Bishkek retains its European rather than Asian ambience, as this city was built by the Russians. We witnessed the celebrations of the second anniversary of Kyrgyzstan's National Guard at the main square in Bishkek city on 29 May 1994. Thousands of Kyrgyz citizens watched the acrobatics by paratroopers and the parade by National Guard with great enthusiasm. Yet, on enquiry from some Kyrgyzs on that occasion,

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one found that the Kyrgyz mothers were scared of sending their sons to join the army, due to the bloody experiences in Afghanistan and on the Tajik-Afghan border. This factor possibly explains the lowest proportion of Kyrgyz troops in the CIS forces manning the Tajik-Afghan border. We also spent some time at the Kyrgyz-Slavonic University, which was established earlier in 1993 as a result of bilateral agreement between Russia and Kyrgyzstan.



The *Balbal* (stone sculptured human figure) Balasaghun



Prof. Warikoo cruising in Issyk Kul lake

The Expedition members also visited the hill resort, Urusai (6000') about an hour's drive from Bishkek and spent a night there, before we returned to Bishkek. Urusai has all the potential of being developed as a skiing resort and cable car can be introduced here profitably for luring both the domestic and foreign tourists. On the morning of 31 May 1994 we left Bishkek and continued our quest of the ancient Silk Route. We reached the ancient town of Tokmak, which is the site of the 21 metre high Buran tower. Here we came across the remnants of pre-Islamic and Buddhist heritage of Balasaghun which used to be a flourishing trading and cultural centre on the Silk Route. This historic site, spread over an area of 36 sq. kms, was declared as the Balasaghun National Park in 1977. The

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Buran tower was first restored in 1967-68 and again in 1975-78. Whereas this tower was constructed in the 11th century A.D. to commemorate the ascendancy of Islam in the region, the totems (stone figures locally called *Bal Bals*) lying throughout this area act as reminder to the pre-Islamic past. These totems, the sculptures carved out in the likeness of the deceased persons, were erected in the memory of the dead. Interestingly, this tradition still continues albeit in a modernised form of erecting concrete graves with stone pillars carrying portraits of the dead. This peculiar tradition would be an anathema in the puritan Islamic countries. About eight kms. away from the Buran Tower, there is the Ak Besham archeological site standing testimony to the Buddhist settlements in this area. This site was found to be in a dilapidated condition and needs to be developed further into a Museum due to its unique historico-cultural importance.



The Buran Tower (11th century A.D.)

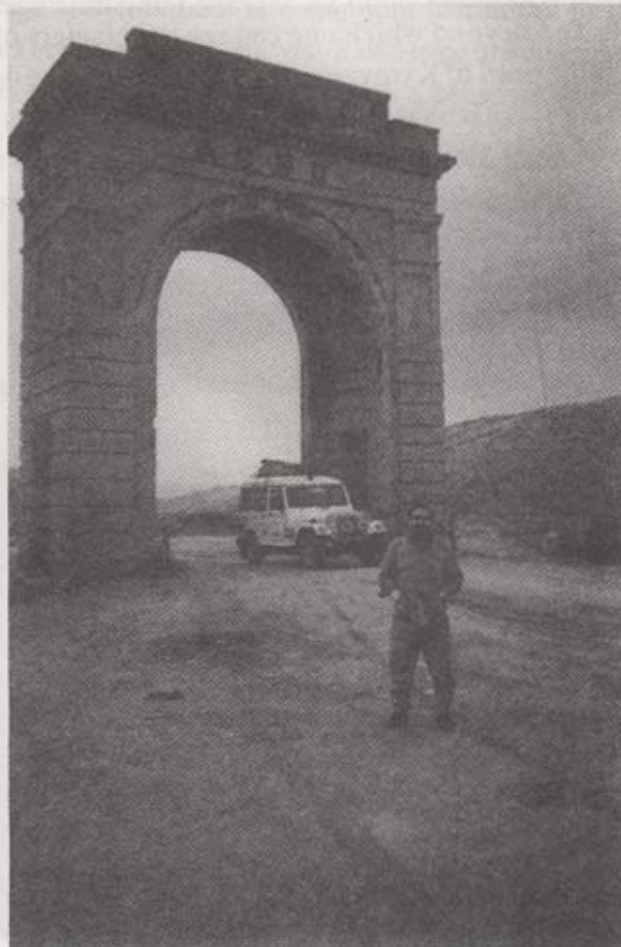
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After a full day's drive through Tokmak, we reached the Issyk Kul lake in the evening of 31 May 1994 and stayed at the beautiful Ak Besham Hotel. This hotel was not only named by the Soviets after the historic Russian ship Aurora which had played a key role in the October Revolution but its exterior is also designed like that ship. This hotel has now been renamed as Issyk Kul Ak Besham Hotel. During the Soviet times this hotel used to be the exclusive preserve of dignitaries from the former USSR and foreign guests. Now it has been turned into a joint stock company and opened to both the domestic and foreign tourists. The turquoise blue Issyk Kul lake, which is guarded by grand snow capped mountains, to the south by Terskey Ala Tao, on the north by Kungey Ala Tao beyond which one can see the glaciers of towering Tien Shan, is the pearl of Kyrgyzstan. Issyk Kul lake is the deepest lake in the world after lake Baikal. Whereas it is fed by 80 streams and rivers, it is drained by none. However, we were disappointed to see that no fish existed in such a huge lake. This area was closed to foreigners during the Cold War, as submarine exercises were regularly carried out by the Soviets here. It is now being developed as the main tourist resort of Kyrgyzstan.

On 2 June 1994 we left Issyk Kul and continued our journey through Balykchi, Kochkor and Sarybulak villages. Balykchi is an important industrial town in Issyk Kul region. One noticed that the industrial waste and pollutants which used to be poured into the Issyk Kul lake, need to be disposed off properly to save the lake from this hazard. From Balykchi we drove to the frontier town of Naryn across the Dolan Pass (10,000') passing a herd of wild Bactrian camels and innumerable mountain marmots. The drive to Naryn through undulating terrain hemmed in by mountains all around, was exhausting. Naryn was an important place on the ancient Silk Route. We spent the night in a *yurt* at Naryn. Here one started feeling the Chinese touch in the local cuisine, obviously due to the proximity of China. We left Naryn early morning next day slowly driving our way over the mountains upto Turgart Pass (12,000') - the highest point on this road. There is a Kyrgyz customs check-post at Turgart. We found that a big building of Customs House and a hotel were being constructed on the Kyrgyz side of the border at Turgart.

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Several trucks (16 tons) carrying cattle hides, sheep skins, iron and steel were moving up from Kyrgyzstan for export to Kashgar in Xinjiang (China). The Kyrgyz and Chinese military observation posts were stationed on the hillocks facing each other. The journey between the Kyrgyz and Chinese border posts was a difficult bone-jarring ride over the rough unpaved no-man's land till we reached the Chinese check-post late in the afternoon. After crossing the border gate, we were in Kashgar territory of Xinjiang (China). The snow covered ridge of Tien Shan mountains is the dividing line between China and Kyrgyzstan, southern slopes belonging to China and the northern slopes to Kyrgyzstan.



Prof. Warikoo crossing the Kyrgyzstan border into Xinjiang

Local nationalism has taken strong roots particularly amongst the younger generation and in the rural areas where Kyrgyzs are in majority. Old places and streets bearing Russian names or which act as a reminder to Kyrgyzstan's association with the former Soviet Union, have been renamed on the local pattern giving due recognition to Kyrgyz heroes and places of historical and cultural importance. The Russian ultranationalist, Zhirnovsky and his supporters are despised by the local Kyrgyzs and the anti-Russian sentiment is persistent. Many Russians, Germans and Jews have emigrated to the Russian Federation, Germany and Israel respectively due to worsening inter-ethnic relations and dwindling of economic avenues in Kyrgyzstan. By the end of 1992, about 2 lakh Russians had left the country. Adoption of Kyrgyz as the official language, privatisation of enterprises and closure of many industries are also responsible for the exodus of skilled non-Kyrgyz minorities. When this author met Mr. Askar Aitmatov, Advisor to the President of Kyrgyzstan in the Government House in early November 1997, Aitmatov conceded that in its first years of independence there was upsurge of nationalist tendencies. Decrees on land and language, removal of non-titular nationalities from the administrative posts and economic hardships had stimulated the emigration of minorities-Russians, Germans and Jews from Kyrgyzstan. However, Aitmatov felt that timely steps taken by government such as the establishment of (i) Assembly of Peoples of Kyrgyzstan, (ii) Kyrgyz-Slavonic University, (iii) Associations of different national minorities, (iv) continuing dialogue between government and these bodies to understand the concerns and interests of these minorities and (v) granting the status of language of official communication to Russian, helped in stabilising the inter-ethnic relations in Kyrgyzstan.

Ethnic tensions between Kyrgyzs and Uzbeks in Osh that erupted into a major violent clash in 1990, have yet to be resolved. Thousands of Uzbeks from the Osh region, where they are mainly concentrated, are reported to have migrated to Uzbekistan. Members of both the Kyrgyz and Uzbek communities in Osh run their own schools, mosques, shops, cafes etc. separately, so that there is little interaction between the two groups.¹ Uzbeks constitute about 50% and Kyrgyzs about 48% of the population (about 2.5 million) of Osh and Jalalabad region in the south of

Kyrgyzstan. During my few days stay in Osh in November 1997, I enjoyed the hospitality of Prof. Bakyt Beshimov, President of Osh State University. Osh being the main agricultural base producing silk, cotton, fruits, tobacco and livestock besides having light, food processing and silk industries, plays a key role in the economy of Kyrgyzstan. Osh presents an oriental Central Asian look as against the typified Russian European city of Bishkek. One found that Uzbeks were mainly involved in trade and that the percentage of Kyrgyz students in Osh University was more than that of Uzbeks. All students are required to learn Kyrgyz language on entering Osh University. I also had an opportunity to interact with the students and faculty of the Indian Studies Centre which has been operating in the Osh University for the past few years. The Central government being conscious of the regional divided is striving to improve road communication between north and south. Bishkek-Osh highway is being built with Japanese funding. But Osh being too close to Afghanistan, Tajikistan and Andijan, it is quite vulnerable to the negative and destabilising influences of Islamic extremism, drugs trafficking and arms smuggling particularly through the Kharogh-Osh highway. In fact Osh has evolved into a major transit entrepot of drug trafficking from Afghanistan through CIS to Europe. The old Silk Route is fast turning into the Narcotics Route.



**Prof. Warikoo presenting a copy of
Himalayan and Central Asian Studies (journal)
to Prof. Beshimov, President Osh State University**



**Prof. Warikoo on the Kyrgyz - China border
(Tien Shan in the background)**

That Kyrgyzstan views the Afghanistan conflict as a threat to security and stability in the entire Central Asian region, was reiterated to me by Askar Ch. Aitmatov, Advisor to the President and also by Dononbaev, the Director of Strategic Studies Institute. On its part Kyrgyzstan is keen to eliminate its landlocked situation by opening multiple communication options with the outside world through Russia, China etc. Aitmatov expressed satisfaction that Kyrgyzstan had managed to settle its border problem with China as inherited from the past. Whereas Kyrgyzstan has agreed not to allow any Uighur secessionist activity within its territory, there continues to be humanitarian concern for the Uighurs who are settled in sizeable numbers in and around Bishkek. On their part China is prepared to disallow any increase in the number of Chinese immigrants in Kyrgyzstan which hopes to restrict the same by reinforcing its passport regime.

There is no denying the fact that Kyrgyzstan attained an appreciable level of development in the spheres of education, health and other sectors of socio-economic upliftment during the Soviet period. This becomes evident from the existing infrastructural facilities in terms of educational

and technical institutions, hotels, hill resorts and some industries. Yet, we found that Kyrgyzstan was passing through a difficult phase on the economic front in its transition to the market economy. About 1000 enterprises had ceased to function due to lack of raw materials resulting in the unemployment of skilled and unskilled workers.² Production had declined by 30 per cent and unemployment had touched a figure of 3 lakhs in 1993.³ Kyrgyzstan was importing 60 to 80 per cent of the essential commodities. Though Kyrgyzstan's economy is best suited for breeding livestock, agricultural production also declined and more particularly in case of meat, milk and eggs. Every section of society in Kyrgyzstan was feeling the pinch of the economic difficulties. Whereas the students are faced with the problem of high costs of education, the newspaper and book industry also suffered due to rising cost of paper which was earlier supplied by Russia. For instance, the Writers' Union of Kyrgyzstan which published 150 new books in 1991, could not bring out any new book in 1992.⁴

The Kyrgyzstan government led by President Akayev has gone ahead in restructuring the economy introducing privatisation. Though the pace of privatisation has been quite fast in case of industrial enterprises, it has also been introduced in private property. For the first time in over 70 years, thousands of flats have become the property of private owners. By the end of 1992 about 19 per cent of the state owned farmland and urban land was privatised and owned by private individuals.⁵ But privatisation of collective farms of livestock has led to the distribution of livestock among small farmers who in turn sold or killed the livestock thus leading to steep decline in livestock. 5,896 state enterprises or 59% of the total were privatised between 1991 and 1995.⁶ USAID has been rendering 'technical' assistance to help in this process of privatisation. Foreign companies particularly from USA, Turkey, South Korea and Germany have also entered the fray setting up joint ventures. Notwithstanding these economic reforms and privatisation, there has been slump in the local economy. In 1995 industrial output declined to 32.7% of the 1991 level.⁷ This was despite the fact that 27 unprofitable industrial enterprises were reorganised and 6 were declared bankrupt. In 1996, industrial output increased as

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compared to the 1995 level. Yet it equalled the level of 1971.⁸ In the agricultural sector, the collective farm system (*Kolkhoz* and *Sovkhoz*) were replaced by private farms, agricultural cooperatives and associations. But from 1991 to 1995 agricultural production declined by 36%.⁹ In 1996, the 'right to private use of land on 99 years lease' was granted. As per 1996 data, private farms produced 70% of meat, 72% of milk, 96% of eggs besides seeds, potatoes, fruits etc.¹⁰ Yet the level of agricultural production remained the same as in the years 1971-73.¹¹

Decline in production, rise in prices, low wages and rising unemployment have generated severe social problems. There is shortage of consumer goods. There has been steep rise in crime rate, drug addiction and divorces. President Akaev expressing concern over this problem disclosed that during 1992 there was 70% rise in crime in Kyrgyzstan and 220% in Osh region, most of which has been related to drugs.¹² Sudden emergence of the nouveau riche class is being lamented by the lesser privileged sections of society. Common people are peeved at the sight of former bureaucrats, managers and politicians assuming private control over prime plots of land, enterprises, shops and even automobiles which were previously state property. People do compare the positive aspects of life in the old Soviet system when there were no shortages and no big gap between the rich and the poor. Now people have to pay even for their education, health and other social services, which were taken care of by the state previously. The average monthly wages ranging upto 25 US dollars are not compatible with the minimum expenses for food, shelter and clothing. 60 per cent of the people are living below poverty line and the gulf between the rich and poor has widened. There is a parallel economy upto 30% of GDP, which was confirmed by Michael Ratnam, Head of the World Bank in Kyrgyzstan during a meeting with this author. This is also borne out by the increase in number of imported cars. According to an estimate, about 30,000 out of 80,000 vehicles in Bishkek are imported and are being consumed by the nouveau riche. Despite its huge hydel power potential and existing power projects, even the capital city of Bishkek suffers from power shortage during the winter months, adding to the woes of the people. The problem of upstream country like Kyrgyzstan which is dependent for

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its fuel and gas requirements on adjoining countries of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, is accentuated by its expenditure of about 80 million US dollars a year for storage of water to be supplied to these downstream countries. Now that the water sharing agreement has been signed by the concerned Central Asian countries and some arrangement is being worked out to compensate Kyrgyzstan for the maintenance of water and storage expenses, will help Kyrgyzstan to exploit the full potential of its hydel resources for power generation. That inflation level has been brought down and currency is stable, shows signs of economic recovery.

Kyrgyzstan is passing through the delicate phase of transforming into a new political, social and economic order. The people of Kyrgyzstan who have many educational and professional cadres and have strong instinct of survival taking pride in their independence and sovereignty, hope to weather the transitory problems facing them at present. The younger generation of Kyrgyzs is determined to preserve the national sovereignty of Kyrgyzstan and work for its prosperity.

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MANASCHI ON THE YENISEI IN THE NARRATION OF THE INDIAN HISTORIAN OF THE XIII CENTURY

V. Ploskikh

The year 1995 was declared the International year of the Kyrgyz heroic epic *Manas* by the decision of UNESCO. For centuries, the epic was conveyed by people in poetic form. This spirit, the source of origin of the Kyrgyz, was carried to our days. Its singers, called *Manaschi*, were very gifted people. According to the legend the first *Manaschi* was a contemporary of Manas named Jaysan-yrchy. The second *Manaschi* was an unknown Kyrgyz who lived on the Yenisei during the times of the Great Kyrgyz Khanate (IX-X cc.). We know about it from the writing of Muhammad al-Aufi which was written in India about 1228 A.D. This fact did not attract the attention of researchers. Only careful attention to the epoch of the epic gave us an opportunity to discover new data about the *Manas* and *Manaschi*.

Researching the epic *Manas*, mythology of the Kyrgyz and historical sources of that distant epoch give hope that the epic along with certain researches, will give us new information about the relations of the Kyrgyz, not only with the nearest neighbours but also with more remote nations, especially with India. The *Manas* is extraordinary by its own scale : it has more than half a million verses, it goes beyond the famous *Illyiada* and *Odyssey* as large as 20 times, *Shah-Name* - 8 times, *Mahabharata* 1.5 times. This huge size has been passed on to the present generation orally by dozens of Kyrgyz people of previous generations.

The *Manas* was not known and available for many peoples of Asia and those of the other continents for many centuries. In the age of unprecedented mass media growth, the *Manas* is becoming available for everybody. It is the historical task of *Manas* to expose the spiritual and cultural world of the Kyrgyz to the world community.

The *Manas* has been created, when its audience wanted to know about people's heroic past. Since then the spiritual life of the Kyrgyz people has essentially changed. The ethnic, psychological and aesthetic richness of the epic came out to the fore. The future of the Kyrgyz, in its ideological and cultural aspects, has its sound and unique basis in the *Manas* which is destined to make the nation's spiritual development successful.

The *Manas* is encyclopaedic and unique. It embodies freedom-loving spirit of the Kyrgyz, cultivates patriotism and love for one's people, aspiration for concord, unity and good-neighbourliness. Common to all mankind, concepts of good and evil, advanced hopes and aspirations, philosophical views on social development, person, nature and universe are interlaced as a single whole in the epic. It contains knowledge about geography, medicine, economics and ecology.

The epic *Manas* attracted many foreign representatives' attention since the middle of the XIX century. In 1856, Ch. Valikhanov noted the encyclopaedic character of the *Manas*. It contains medical knowledge of the Kyrgyz and their international relations. These relations are immediately linked to the principles of peace and concord. The processes of both political character and society's technical development in the era of the *Manas* are imprinted upon the epic.

Manas as a hero of the epic is the person of his own time expressing the best qualities of his own people—generosity, justice, the high capacities for organisation, initiative, concern for people and their unity, unselfishness, honesty, tolerance, confidence. It is not difficult to observe the consonance of these features with the central ideas of the UN in its international activity.

The *Manas* has been created by the most gifted persons of the Kyrgyz people—*Manaschi*, who had been expressing the traditions, which should not be and could not be lost. The epic has passed on from generation by word of mouth in poetic manner and brought up to our days the spirit and sources of the Kyrgyz people's origin.

Historically, the epic *Manas*, side by side with religion and other forms of ideology, became the main consolidating factor of uniting separated tribes into formidable force, capable of resisting external and

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internal enemies. This unique role of the epic in Kyrgyz life allows to compare it with that of Bible in the Christian and Koran in the Mohammedan worlds. This fact accounts for the heightened interest for bio-geography and personality of each *Manaschi*.

But unfortunately we know very little of them, especially about the first ones. According to legends, the epic singer Jaysan-yrchy is considered to be the first *Manaschi* who lived during the Manas period. His potential was huge. He was believed to be able to sing in the Manas yurt half a day. The memory of the Kyrgyz people retained the name of Toktogul-yrchy, who was narrator and lived about 5000 years ago.

In our opinion, between Jaysan-yrchy and Toktogul-yrchy one can note the nameless Kyrgyz, who lived as far back as on the Yenisei and had a marvellous adventure. The information about the latter was imparted to us by Mohammad al-Aufi in his work, written about 1228 A.D. in India. According to Aufi's narration some inquisitive Kyrgyz decided to find out where the largest Siberian river Yenisei flowed. The Kyrgyz went by boat downstream and for three days he did not see the light, stars, moon and sun. Suddenly the Kyrgyz heard clatter of hooves. Out of prudence he climbed a tree and waited. Shortly afterwards three very tall horsemen rode up to the tree. Big dogs, which didn't yield to cows in size, followed the horsemen. They saw the Kyrgyz on the tree, took pity on him and suggested him to come down. He mounted a horse before one of the horsemen in order not to be torn to pieces by dogs. Then the giants brought the traveller to their tent (*yurt*) and fed him. After showing hospitality the giants politely pointed him the way to home (V.V. Bartold, *The Kyrgyz Historical Essay*, Vol. II, part I, pp. 495-496).

Russian orientalist academician V.V. Bartold regarded this Aufi's story as a statement of some legend and, apparently, that is why he did not comment on it. However, any Kyrgyz legend should interest the researchers of folklore.

It is known that almost all *Manaschi* regard their creative activity as being bound with miraculous dream and inspiration. Apparently, the chosen one, *Manaschi*, met Manas himself, his son Semetey or grandson Seltek with their associates, or without them, and was blessed to sing their deeds.

Some *Manaschi* claimed that Manas presented himself not only in dream, but also in their waking hours. A prominent *Manaschi* Keldibek (XIX century) told that in his youth he dreamt about Manas and his associates. They demanded the youth to sing of Manas and then go on a pilgrimage to Manas Kumbuz in Talas Valley and offer sacrifice there. Keldibek obeyed all the demands of the hero. According to Keldibek, after the sacrifice in Talas he dreamt about Manas with associates again, and they said : “Up to now we presented ourselves only in dream. Now we will show ourselves in waking hours”. Keldibek followed all the terms of Manas, and he said he had met and even talked to the great heroes.

One can list a plenty of such narrations. Putting aside psychological aspects of the problem, we will note that there are many common details in Aufi’s story (the beginning of XIII century) and that of Keldibek. In both of them the scenes are set near the rivers (the Yenisei and the Chui) and mountains (the spurs of Sayan and Tien Shan). Meetings with the heroes have taken place, in one case at Yenisei flowing out from dark mountain gorge, and in another case on the sunny side of the Chui river. On both the banks of Yenisei and Chui, heroes are very tall and riding fast horses. There are a number of other common traits. For instance, who were the other three mighty heroes and at the same time so kind to protect one and therefore they have gone down in the Kyrgyz legendary world. They were essentially the mighty and generous Manas, Semetey and Seitek.

We can conjecture, there is typical for Kyrgyz *Manaschi* version of the origin of their creation connected with the meeting with heroes of the epic in miracle dream. The Yenisei’s “traveller”, having slept for three days, also narrated his meeting so actively, that his story reached upto the distant India as well at the beginning of the XIII century. In our view, he was one of the first *Manaschi*.

We recognize vulnerability of our hypothesis : Aufi had not named the Yenisei’s giants. But it is alluring enough to be introduced into scientific use. Moreover, our commentary to Aufi’s text raises more questions than it gives answers. Historical sources of that distant past allow us to hope that the epic, in certain investigations brings us new evidence of Kyrgyz relations with both neighbours and more distant people, particularly those of India.

THE KYRGYZ UPRISING OF 1916*

Osmonakum Ibraimov

The year 1916 witnessed one of the tragic events in the history of Kyrgyz people. Though the anti-Tsarist, anti-colonial disturbances in Semirechiye and the Kyrgyz uprising of the year 1916 have been partly touched upon in the Soviet historiography, access to many documents and sources of this period became possible only in the post-perestroika years. Soon after their independence the Kyrgyz people have evinced keen interest in the tragic events of 1916.

The facts, figures and evidence of the eyewitnesses who were linked with this unheard tragedy of Kyrgyzs in that pre-revolution year of 1916 are horrifying. Now one realises and understands the true essence of A. Tokombayev's celebrated novel in verse *The Bloody Years and A Wounded Heart*. Similarly one is obliged to re-read M. Elebayev's great novel *A Long Journey* and Dj. Turusbekov's musical drama *Not Life, But Death*.

In this atmosphere of emotional reawakening, our young democrats decided on a noble course of tribute - to pay visit on foot to all places of these tragic events. It was decided in Bishkek and in the Boomsky Gorge to erect something in the nature of pantheons in memory of the victims of the uprising of 1916. At the same time it was also decided to consign the remains of people which are lying to this day here and there on both sides of the mountain passes bordering with China. However, nothing was done afterwards. The independence also presented to us, though less important but more difficult worldly problems of life. The first wave has died down and the other has departed. And now once again, it seems, stable peace has been restored.

Everything took place as in Franz Kafka's parable about the forgotten *Prometei*, about gods who attracted him to the rocks of Caucasus, about instability of all that is going on this earth. *Prometei* is

* *This paper has been translated from the original Russian by Satyabhan Singh Rajput.*

forgotten, so are gods, the wound has healed up... But what does history mean if, at last, it's simply inane?

THE UPRISING : PRINCIPAL CAUSES

What kind of an uprising it was, what preceded this abominable crime of Tsarism? In the year 1916 Russia was experiencing great difficulties in the course of World War, and also in garnering material, social and economic reserves so essential for the continuation of military operations. Towards the beginning of the year 1916 the reserves of manpower in force were almost exhausted (according to statistics under arms and in the rear units about 10 million men were estimated). While the opposing powers were successfully making use of technology for various fortified constructions and reinforcements, the Russian army wholly depended on the human resource. The absence of a well laid down network of railways was reflected in untimely supply of troops and other war commodities-the most essential means in the war. So the Tsarist regime efforts to draw into the war “non-Russian tribes, who could help sustain the battle and rear operations” was a natural one (V. Nekrasov Kliodt).

However, the Tsarist government plans of requisitioning Uzbeks, Tajiks, Turkmens, Kyrgyzs and Kazakhs were extremely rash. The people were illiterate and isolated from the outer world. The authorities were trying to suppress the rising social tension in Russia at the cost of cheap work force of the natives and export of raw materials. It is no mere coincidence that plans of such requisition were soon curtailed in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. As it was summer, the harvesting of cotton, the most important raw material of Central Asia was at hand. But in Semirechiye (the Southern regions of Kazakhstan and the Northern Kyrgyzstan) the campaign was being used for the fulfillment of other aims: “... to cause, to provoke an agitation for the destruction of the human material of Kyrgyzstan for clearing land for new colonisation, though this circumstance was carefully concealed” (G.I. Broido, from the testimonies given on 3rd September 1916 to the Prosecutor of the Tashkent Judicial Chamber on the Kyrgyz uprising). According to Broido,

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“the Kyrgyz uprising was also one of the means for the Tsarist executioners who already in 1916 had found the lands so as to gag the revolutionized peasants. To exterminate the Kyrgyzs, frighten them away into China and seize new land reserves - is what the Tsarist government had expected from its provocative agenda.... It was necessary to have a devilish plan in order to achieve an uprising”. T. R. Ryskulov, the eminent Kazakh statesman who was shot by Stalin, wrote : “Tsarism had planned to use this uprising to take the entire Chui Valley from the Kyrgyzs, and similarly the basin of the Lake Issyk Kul and Naryn and evict the Kyrgyzs to more deserted mountainous plateau.”

General Kuropatkin, the Chief War Officer of Turkmenistan, in his secret report informed the Tsar that “the constant confiscation from the possession of the Kyrgyzs of the best parts of the land, their restraint in land usage.. is particularly the deed of the working non- Russians who have shaken the Kyrgyz life set up to its roots, will undoubtedly flare up the nationalistic sentiment of the people.” Therefore, he considered it essential to put in the nearest assembly the question about the future of the fate of the Kyrgyz people; to decide whether to create out of them .. settled tillers or factory and plant workers leaving it dependent on the disposal of one or the other number of land forests, or gradually dislodge them from the land....” (Nekrasov - Kliodt)

JUNE 1916

The uprising began soon after the infamous decree of the Tsar issued on 25 June 1916 about the requisition of Turkestani “non-Russians” and the declaration of 30 June 1916 by the Stepnoe Governor General Sukhomlinov, according to which all men between the age of 19 years to 31 years upto a number of 220,000 were to be enrolled . The decree and the declaration were promulgated without any preliminary work in the population, without any consideration of the spirit and social condition of the people. Panic among the native people increased as some Russian settlers had most likely, conjectured about the schemes of the Tsarist authorities that “the Kyrgyzs will be deported to the trenches, that they will be fed on pork” and so on (from the telegram of M.R. Eropheev, the Assistant Governor General of Turkmenistan).

The disturbances in the beginning spread to Samarkand, Djizak, Andjizhan and other *uyezds* of Uzbekistan, then spreading over to Semirechiye to Vernen, Pishpek, Karakol and other regions. The uprising spread to all regions but it acquired the most sharp character in the borders of Semirechiye where the southern regions of present-day Kazakhstan and the northern regions of Kyrgyzstan meet. This was more so because Semirechiye was the region of the agrarian colonisation. In 1906 there were 106,000 peasant-settlers in Turkmenistan, and out of this number 69,000 were concentrated in Semirechiye alone. Even the celebrated A.F. Kerensky in his days as the leader of the faction of workers in the Fourth State Duma in his speech of 15 December 1916 noticed this circumstance. (See collection of the documents *The Uprising of 1916 in Central Asia*, Tashkent, 1932. p 123).

It is important to note that the State Duma which was dissolved by Lenin in 1917, became the first tribune where the Kyrgyz tragedy was discussed in its entirety and the very same Alexander Fyodorovich Kerensky, the Head of the Interim Government after the abdication of Nikolai from the throne, acted as the Chief Prosecutor. With this aim he especially visited Tashkent and Samarkand a number of times and was very carefully investigating the entire punitive expedition of 1916.

Although the scales of the disturbances were quite wide, the insurgents being an unarmed mass, were suppressed easily. As Nekrasov - Kliodt and Broido notice it, their main weapon was a “dry” weapon, i.e. *sueli* (sticks), lances, swords, axes and very rarely an antediluvian “milte” the gun with a wick. Therefore, it is not surprising that during the siege laid by the rebels (1500 men) to a small city of Tokmak, the punitive detachment under a certain Bakurevich’s command repulsed the rebels without any particular effort. Bakurevich had lost two men whereas the opposition side lost more than 300 men. But this rebellion was used as a pretext for punishing the entire population. General Kuropatkin’s telegram sent to the War Governor of Semirechiye, Folbaum read : “Together with the units formed by you, you will have at your disposal, on arrival of the reinforcements dispatched by you, not counting the two Cossack regiments and the mounted battery, 35 companies, 24 squadrons of

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Cossacks, 240 mounted secret agents, 16 ordnance pieces, 47 machine guns.” The General also noted in passing that “Chernyayev, Romanovsky, Kaufman, Skobelev had conquered the Syr Daria, Samarkand and Fargana regions with lesser forces.”

It would be unfair to say that the Kyrgyz tragedy of 1916 left the Russian liberal public indifferent. When that same A.F. Kerensky in his speech at a special session of the Duma stated that “the punitive detachment consisting of three types of weapons, infantry and cavalry, and the commander of the detachment issues orders to go in such and such directions and burn out on its way the entire native population irrespective of gender and age,” an indignant voice was heard in the Hall of the Duma : “shame”. He continued : “... infants were killed, were killed the old men and women (words of the Deputy Shingareyev : “Barbarians”; Rodichev was indignant : “And this is the pride of the country”). Here I am quoting the verbatim report. As is obvious, the barbarism of the Tsar’s army extremely perturbed the liberally spirited Russian statesmen such as Kerensky, Kapnist, Shingareyev, Rodichev and others.

The order of the military officers “to burn out and destroy to the last straw” was fulfilled in war spirit. According to the information from the sotnik M.S. Volkov and in the words of that same company chief Bakurevich, “The Kyrgyz girls were “theatrically” dressing up and throwing themselves from the rocks head first in front of the Cossacks” (G.I. Broido). In one of his dispatches, General Kuropatkin ruled : “It is necessary to catch the ring leader-wolves but what concerns the mass of sheep, they can even be excused.” But they did not excuse them. Having badgered the settlements Belovodskoe (even today the village is known by the same name), one Gribanovsky in a deceitful way caught around 500 (Broido calls this figure as 517 whereas Kerensky puts it around 500) Kyrgyzs at a caravan-shed where these unarmed people, “are killed with stones, sticks and forks. Whereas those who remained alive are brought to the city Pishpek (now Bishkek) and there they are finished off before the eyes of the authorities that same day in the evening at the Sobornaya Square (now Oak Park) with music from the cinematograph,” says A.F. Kerensky.

In the Empire, as we see not only they were shooting at women and children from which menace the living were transformed into refugees but also committed the planned, most cruel genocide against the people whose ancient land was forcefully conquered.

By the way, what is a genocide? In the *Soviet Encyclopaedic Dictionary* (1987) we read : “one of the most grave crimes against humanity, extermination of individual groups of population according to racial, national, ethnic or religious distinctions and similarly premeditated creation of living conditions designed to complete or partial physical destruction of these groups. Such crimes were committed in massive scales by the Nazis during the Second World War Particularly against the Slav and Jew populations”, and so on. Alas, something similar was accomplished also in the Imperial Russia against the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

The uprising, as a matter of fact, was a sensible protest of the native population against the inhuman colonial policy of the Tsarist regime which systematically forced the natives out from the most fertile arable lands to mountainous regions. According to statistical data, from 1902 to 1913 the size of the population of the Kyrgyzs was reduced by 8.9%. On the other hand the number of the Russian settlers rose by more than 10%. Not only A.F. Kerensky but also the members of the punitive expedition themselves confirmed the unarmed and passive character of the uprising. After a few bloody excesses in the beginning (approximately during 15 days) the insurgents exclusively changed over to self-defence avoiding direct collisions with the punitive members or trying to repulse the pursuit onslaught. But the punitive army did not spare anybody inclusive of the Russians who sympathized with the Kyrgyzs. Many of them, fearing execution fled to China along with the Kyrgyzs.

THE ESCAPE TO CHINA

Thus began the massive escape to China overcoming the high mountainous glacial passes of the Tien Shan range. The refugees took along with them the most essential, everything was done in the greatest haste. Members of the punitive expedition were chasing in fives, shooting

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in back of the unarmed fleeing children and women. Probably the most gory genocide in the history of the Russian Empire had begun.

Already towards the beginning of 1917, around 100,000 to 120,000 refugees reached the bordering Uch-Turfan and Aksu regions of China. This figure does not take into account the number of refugees in other areas of China adjoining the Kyrgyz border. Having lost their herds - their principal status and wealth (on the way through the Bedel Pass alone the number of perished cattle crossed 10,000), having received no aid from the Chinese authorities the Kyrgyzs found themselves face to face with death from starvation, epidemics and countless losses. Incidents of “selling” children with those parents who wished that the new born children should not die from starvation, if only they survived, became more and more frequent.

Attempting to determine the losses suffered by the refugees, the Russian Consul General in Kashgar, Stefanovich in early 1917 in his report recorded : “I find it rather difficult to exactly determine the extent of possible losses for the run away Kyrgyzs, but considering the fact that there were upto 120,000 persons who on an average count had 5 to 7 cattle heads each, then a sum of 120,000 roubles shall not be an exaggeration (see the collection of documents *The Uprising of 1916 in Kirghistan*, p.165). And in the report of the officer for errands of Yungmeister a loss in 20 million roubles is indicated for the Przheval *uyezd* alone (see the collection *The Uprising of 1916 in Central Asia and Kazakhstan*, p.399). There is no doubt that these estimates of losses are in milliards of roubles. But for that matter these are only property and material losses. What about the loss of lives, how many perished, how many disappeared because of hunger and cold?

According to the data of 1913 the average composition of a *kibitka* was equal to 5.1 persons of both sexes. According to T.R. Ryskulov’s calculations in Przheval and Pishpek *uyezds* alone the nomad population had decreased to 41,975 families towards January 1917 from 62,340 families before the uprising (see Ryskulov’s indicatory work, page 58). If we consider the fact that in Uch-Turfan and Aksu regions alone of Chinese Turkestan (now Xinjiang) the number of refugees from Northern

Kyrgyzstan was around 120,000 without taking into account Uch-Tash, Katuu Bagyt and other regions. Only a small number of these survived and returned to their homeland where the hunt for the Kyrgyzs was again renewed by the members of the punitive expedition and Russian settlers. The scales of the national tragedy thus become clear.

LESSONS FROM HISTORY

In spite of that there were attempts to publish all possible documents related to the Genocide of 1916, as the Soviet historical science slightly opened the curtain away from massive unstudied problems and issues. It is sad but true : after the War of 1941-45 rarely someone from the scientists, historians and writers was seriously interested in the study of the uprising and those who took interest in it (for instance, Prof. K. Usenbayev, the author of the research work *The Uprising of 1916 in Kirghizia*, Frunze, 1967) these did not thoroughly analyse the causes and consequences. Not all documents were studied, as many of these have been unearthed only lately. That the contemporaries almost do not know a word about these bloody events, especially the young generation is regrettable.

In our days the nihilistic conclusions about the Russian Empire, about the character and importance of the October Revolution of 1917 in the World history appears at times quite naturally. But the Bolshevik Revolution truly became a great saviour of the long suffering Kyrgyz people, as it put an end to the genocide of this most ancient people of Central Asia by the Tsarist punitive armies. The national gene-pool of the people is conserved, a mighty impulse has been given to the development of culture, science and tremendous socio-economic progress has been achieved. Though there was the Basmachi war which continued practically upto the 1940s, then there was regrettably infamous collectivization, the repressions of 1937-38. And the Great Partiotic war. The famous Panfilov Guards regiment came into existence in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan and it heroically defended Moscow having covered itself with eternal glory. Cholponbai Tuleberdiev who was born exactly four years after the tragic nineteen hundred sixteen, and six months before A. Matrosov accomplished the remarkable feat

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(see *Sov. Encyc. Dic.*, 4th ed...) in crossing through the Don having covered with his chest the enemy DZOT (5 August 1942). Out of more than 300,000 Kyrgyzs who had left for the war front, 71 men became the Heroes of the Soviet Union.

TSARISM AND BOLSHEVISM : WHICH IS MORE ?

Quite recently the whole world witnessed an event-the recreation of the remains of the Tsar's family which was finished off by the Bolsheviks, took place in St. Petersburg, the earliest capital of the Tsars of Russia. The world kept an eye with curiosity on the stately, at the same time most contradictory procession. Nikolai himself and the royal members of the Emperor's family were consigned to earth by yesterday's communists, today's democrats. Many speeches were made. But then the occasion also was not an ordinary one. The church bells were also heard...

About whom were the bells of Russia sounding ? Whether only about the sacrifices of the crowned family of the former Empire ? I think, not. This was, I would say, a mysterious polysemantic jingling and chiming of bells for all those who were killed for no fault of theirs by the Bolsheviks-communists and also by the Tsarism itself... That day we saw Russia rushing about between the extremes. The Orthodox Church was demanding to canonize the Tsar, whereas the masses remained perfectly indifferent towards such an intention of the Church-why and for which boons should Nikolai be canonized? For the Empire, which has been called by one of the greatest revolutionaries of the world as "the prison of peoples"? Even A. Yanov from the far off USA, a furious opponent of the Soviet Communists, by no means a friend of Lenin, calls Nikolai's Russia as "the monstrous Eurasian Empire".

Amongst the modern Kyrgyz intellectuals there exists an almost endless dispute : which helped and invested in Kyrgyzstan more - the Tsarism or the Soviet socialism? As a rule, the bowl of the balance bows in favour of the latter, for the results are obvious. There exists also one more argument : Who killed more - The Tsarism or the Bolsheviks ? There is no direct answer to it. But there is the Tragedy of the year 1916, which was and remains one of the most black crimes of the Tsarism.

CONCLUSION

Friendliness, peaceful, pliant disposition of Kyrgyzs are known to all. Our brothers - the Kyrgyzstani Russians know and value this. And quite definitely it is necessary to say in this connection : they do not have any link with the events of the year nineteen hundred sixteen. Our century-long friendship must be preserved and consolidated in the most gentle way. There is no other alternative. Therefore, all that is happening in Russia now concerns us also : it cheers, worries us and raises our hopes...Evg. Evtushenko's wonderfully splendid lines are coming to my mind:

Really, when the Russians get flabby,
Shall they beg pardon for their fall,
Also in the new Russo-Prussian Rome
Will it be an all-round fall ?
But still in Russia there is faith,
So long as the grey hares know
With the eyes of a Czech or a Magyar
To cast a glance at the Russian bayonet
Whereas the new Rome— for good
Let it be so : it goes to gutter.
Where Rome has its fall in Rus
There reawakens, arises Rus.

When Russians are capable to speak about themselves like this,
we can trust Russia.

THE POLITICAL CULTURE IN KYRGYZSTAN: TRENDS TO DEMOCRATISATION

A. Dononbaev

The institutions and the people are the two important attributes which determine the political culture of any society. The institutions, in other words, not only state but also non-state organisations, create the structural and functional basis of forming and developing political behaviour and consciousness among the people. But, on the other side, the cultural and historical traditions, collected in the form of “mental concentration” in public and individual consciousness through generations, are also coming out as an effective factor of politico- cultural orientation.

One of the fundamental contradictions of the new CIS countries reveals itself in non-conformity between democratically oriented institutions of state governance and traditional behaviour and consciousness of the people. There is paradoxical situation when the state institutions are democratic in form and the political culture of people who rule these institutions, is autocratic in many ways. The success of the reforms in CIS countries depends on how concretely this contradiction will be decided in reality.

The Central Asian states are only at the beginning of the process of forming a nation state. Development on this way is going on mainly by the method of tests and mistakes. And every step forward is faced with new problems. In general we can determine next moments. First of all, the people of Central Asia did not experience a developed state in their previous history. During the Soviet time, the sovereign power remained in the hands of imperial centre i.e. Moscow. Secondly, the totalitarian system or the total domination of state in all spheres of life resulted in suppressing the civil society.

One of the specific moments in the development of Central Asian states is that the formation of civil society and political state is going

through a parallel line to interweave each other. Moreover, the institutionalisation of state structures is also going ahead, but in a certain way it is directed towards the development of civil society. And this is a reassuring factor. To change the man and his mentality, which has a very strong inertia of traditionalism, as the President of Uzbekistan, I. Karimov has expressed, is possible only by time. (I. Karimov, "Uzbekistan - is not iceberg to drift", *Izvestia*, 11 November 1997). Moreover, the idea is that political culture of a traditional man will go on changing as and when the democratic reforms in Central Asian countries deepen.

The formation of nation state in Central Asia is passing through another tendency, i.e. from the totalitarian system to the authoritarian system and then to the democratic system. A shift from totalitarian system to a democratic one may result in strengthening the public life free from chaos and arbitrariness objectively. The Central Asian states are now experiencing this transformation. That's why some countries are forced to combine the democratic and authoritarian methods of rule in creating their own nation state. However, in the case of Uzbekistan it would be difficult to have a political system without authoritarian elements in it due to the traditional political culture of the people. In Kyrgyzstan, there had been relatively soft transformation to the direct political democracy because of the availability of some democratic elements in the roots of the Kyrgyz people's traditions.

It should be pointed out, that none of the Central Asian states have developed a parliamentary form of government. All the nation states are being developed by forming and strengthening the Presidential form of government. In fact, the political culture and mentality of the Central Asian people have formed and developed under the influence of the ideas stemmed from the great role played by the "leader" or "ruler" throughout the history. But the most important thing is that the centuries old tradition, which remained democratic in character has been able to adapt and organically enroll itself into the context of today's reformations in the Central Asian states.

In Kyrgyzstan, the nomadic civilisation which was historically dominating throughout the centuries, organically enrolled many elements

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of democratic attitude surrounding the world. Nomad was “citizen” of the Khan only conditionally. The cattle and its possession was individual but belonged to the family as well. The Army consisted mainly of nomad soldiers. The Khan was usually elected on a nation-wide meeting (*kurultay*) and had only a nominal power. The power of clan’s head was more real. The President of the Kyrgyz Republic, Askar Akaev has rightly said that Kyrgyz democracy came down from Tien Shan mountains. This graphic expression testifies the possibility of organically connected democratic style of life with mental characteristics of political culture of Kyrgyzstan.

However, at the same time the influence of Soviet politico-cultural heritage has not diminished. One of the significant characteristics was the lack of respect for Law. In political behaviour and consciousness of the western people (European, American, Japanese), the dominant position was the civil culture whose main core was “law of obedience”. There is an expression: “If there is no God in the soul, there is a devil in the mind”. Thus, for the westerners, God is mainly the Law. Therefore, the law became the organic norm and the inside core of behaviour and consciousness of a man. The political behaviour and consciousness of a post-Soviet man is still determined by the “culture of obedience”. He is a citizen of the state, but not of the society. That’s why “power - obedience” i.e. submission to the orders of upper rulers dominates his habits. For such kind of a man violence of law was entirely a “lawful” measure.

The Western democracy, with all its values and shortages, overwhelmed post-Soviet citizens of Kyrgyzstan and in many ways, “blinded” the consciousness and disorientated the behaviour of the people. In practice, it leads to anarchy and arbitrariness in many ways. The *Slovo Kyrgyzstana* newspaper has described street talks in this manner : “Is it a democracy or should we expect even worse situation?” The democratic law has still not organically entered the public life. But there are changes and we are slowly adopting democratic habits and procedures, though with some tensions. However, a definite shift to the culture and psychology of democratic consciousness and behaviour will rather be a long process.

Many people in our Republic hope that democracy gives the initiative and energy to the people and creates bridgehead for the fast economic growth. But in practice, it happens vice versa. As fact remains, of more than 140 states in the world which had chosen the capitalist way of development, almost one third of them for decades didn't get even the average rating of being previously a less developed and not capitalistic rather a "capitalistically oriented". And at the same time, many of them not only declared, but also introduced the democratic principles. The countries, which get the average rate and even more high rate, had been differentiated by the fact that there were long domination of the authoritarian rule there. "The economic wonders", demonstrated by the "new industrial countries" (NIC), particularly by "Asian tigers" (South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore), as an independent research shows, "knead on yeast" mainly by the authoritarian rule of the state and society.

Although democracy has set out its roots in our life and has been giving its wonderful results, we should seriously consider this phenomenon. First of all, the historical situation of making a shift to democracy in post - Soviet countries itself turns out to be quite contradictory. In Europe as well as in America, the transition to political democracy was prepared keeping in mind the preceding private market relations. They developed the culture and psychology of the market behaviour and consciousness. The private ownership was realised as the right of any citizen. This socio -economic basis is like the roof for a political democracy. That's why we should commensurate the sequence and depth of democratic and socio - economic reforms.

Secondly, we do not have a wide and developed system of civil society. We have only what remains in a rudimentary condition which has not yet determined its social and economic basis. The "crystallisation" inside the public structure of the precise group interests has also not happened. What is more actual at this moment is the creation of a legal basis for regulating the relationship while forming a civil society and the political system, in the state particularly. But the law still is not a core issue in creating political culture among the members of the civil society. At the same time, "state demonopolization" of the spiritual and economic

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spheres of life, together with institutional framing of different non-state and private ownership, creates the conditions for the fragmented components of a civil society, in which various conflicting interests seem to be appearing and trying to compete among themselves. In short, elements of private relations which are stimulating individualism, have sharpened it to open selfishness. Certain part of the state apparatus is also rushing to struggle for economic privileges. As a result, there appear to be some contradictions and conflicts in the economic sphere which are visible on political arena too.

The element of “chaotic fermentation” in the conflict among each elements of the civil society may be very long in the history and may also assume the destructive character. The experience of the capitalist development in Europe reveals that during the reformation period, it had experienced a bloody battle. According to the Gobs and Monteskie, Western European legal system, which is the basis of modern liberal civilisation, was created as a forced measure, to curb the so called “war against all”. In Germany this “war” claimed a loss of two thirds of the population. In France, the Catholics mercilessly killed the gugenots and vice versa. In England the agrarian revolution destroyed the peasants as a class, which means that “sheep ate the people”. This was the time of extreme cruelty which resulted in the collapse of all the shaped communities - clans, communes, religious and ethnic. However, only the legal system based on the rigid power of law and a strong state which defends this law remained intact to establish a relative order in order to strengthen the society.

Now the question arises, “why the countries of the Asia - Pacific Region (APR) which until recently were on the way of fast economic development, managed to cross over this path in 40 to 50 years, while the countries of Western Europe have been trying to do the same for at least 200 to 300 years in order to reach today’s situation?” The fact remains that they might have learnt both the positive as well as negative experiences of the European history. The democracy abundantly thrown down on the unprepared soil is similar to the premature birth. There is a child, but no one knows how to deal with him. The unlimited democracy

therefore, can increase the public conflicts. That's why the rulers of East Asian countries are on the way of achieving both the total economic liberalisation and a political dictate simultaneously.

In Kyrgyzstan, of course we cannot go by this scenario. Every vegetable has not only its own time for getting ripe but it has also its own garden. The Kyrgyz republic has a deep historical tradition of having a nomadic and agricultural democracy. But we have not yet developed a political culture which could match with the modern democratic people.

The sovereign character of a state power which is now being established in modern Kyrgyzstan, determines the character of political culture that is also rising in the whole political life. First of all, it is necessary to analyse peculiarities of the previous political culture. This culture can be determined mainly as an authoritarian. The authoritarian political culture is a model and value of such kind of consciousness and behaviour which are oriented towards vertically rising system of a sovereign power. Consequently, the more strong is the hierarchical system, the more is the power of authorities. Such kind of a pyramid has been characterised as a rule by authoritarian person who has been in possession of total power. And it is exactly what a sovereign is. But a democratic political culture is a model and value of such kind of consciousness and behaviour which are oriented towards vertically descending system of a sovereign power. And here lesser strong is the system, there are more opportunities for realising power and authority. In this system, total power vests with the people. Another question is that in authoritarian system those who are at the top of a pyramid give a part of authoritative power to those who are at the bottom of a state governing pyramid. In return, people give a certain part of their authoritative power to upper class by holding elections. For example, in democratic system of the USA, the President has more authorities. But these are delegated to him by the people. That's why, in reality, in the democratic political culture, one's power is recognised as legitimate to such a level when he is elected and given the powers by the people. In sharp contrast, in the autocratic political culture, the power is legitimate when it is given by the upper class. Thus, the main difference between the authoritarian and the democratic political

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cultures is that who and how can one realise one's behaviour as authoritative representative of the power. Consequently, divergence of the orientations of authoritarian and democratic political cultures is not in the real functions of the power, but in its source of legitimacy.

There is a process of breaking an old authoritarian political culture and in its place creating certain elements of a new democratic political culture. Its characteristics are now very clearly manifested in Kyrgyzstan. Slowly but steadily people have accumulated components of democratic mentality which would play a beneficial role in the successive traditions of the culture of the Kyrgyz people.

In the traditional political culture of the Kyrgyz people, there are deep rooted habits to solve all important questions through democratic ways. But the specific authoritarian mechanism of realising this power should not be forgotten. The democratic procedure has been only demonstrative political design of relations between upper and lower classes and it has not changed the practice of autocratic governing. This element was also rooted in the traditions of the Kyrgyz people.

The most important thing is that people should understand a source of legitimate power. If they think that power presented to somebody who was selected by the high divinity then, obviously the democratic procedure of election becomes only as demonstrative form of a pre-determined process. In autocratic political culture, each following power looks forward to a higher level to be treated as a real body in which everything is vested. In democratic political culture, there is a deep rooted habit to look for support of its own activity by appealing to people's opinion. Thus, in ancient Greece and Rome, constant need to convene people's meeting to prove their ideas and proposals right led to development of a system of public speaking. In the countries of ancient East, there was a need to convince not the people, but an individual ruler. That's why in ancient China some kind of literature such as *message to emperor* was created.

There are several strata too in the political culture of the Kyrgyz people. After Kyrgyzstan joined Russia and later the USSR, the previously existing strata of pre-Islamic and Islamic origins were added

to Russian-European and Soviet strata. Then a specific symbiosis of political and cultural interaction of different components of a mosaic picture emerged which got united by its own spatiality and time. According to a question dealing with the legitimacy of power, pre-Islamic and Islamic conceptions of universe give rather a close notion. Ideas about divinity existed in the history of an authoritarian and monarchic system of governance. Very characteristic in this connection is the story of the birth of Manas, the dream of Djakyp, difficult childbirth of Tchyirly who gave birth to Manas, cry of the child which split the mountain and the “tiger - form” figure of this strong child emerged, who was very heavy as fifteen year old youth, had the power to suck the breast of his mother, and as a result there flew milk, then water and at the end splashed blood—all this tells us of the uniqueness and supernaturalness of these events. Djakyp, Manas’s father, expressing happiness on his son’s birth, thanked the creator - Sky and *Tenir*. The word *Tenir* is of Chinese origin. Since the beginning of the establishment of the Chinese state, there appeared a political culture, where the main idea was concentrated on *Tanzsy*, the ruler who was thought to be the “son of the Sky”. According to this idea, the *Tjan* - the “Sky” is representing divine, imperative sphere according to lower, subordinating sphere “De” - “Land”. The “Sky” passing the mandate of the governing to a man, who was selected by him, and inform about it to the people by specific signs. Exactly, this idea has been represented in the epic poem *Manas* as a miraculous phenomenon of the future hero and the Khan.

In the Middle Ages, the power of the European monks was legitimized and limited by a strong force such as the church. The Muslim monk had neither such kind of limitation nor legitimization, especially after the collapse of the Arab state. That’s why his power was absolutely uncontrolled, but at the same time extremely vulnerable. The conqueror could be anyone, even a former slave: the *mamluks* from Egypt, or a “slave dynasty” in medieval India, etc. For them, it was not necessary to prove their rights on the throne and to obtain “the rights to power”.

There is a question why the Kyrgyz state once having been created then went out as a star and didn’t emerge during centuries. For an answer to this question, we should look at the specificity of the political culture

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of the nomadic civilisation. In nomadic societies, economics worked on two contradictory tendencies. Central tendency worked only to such an extent where ethnic consolidation didn't break a clan's structure of the society. In this connection an impulse for unity was suppressed by a centrifugal tendency. In a severe geopolitical condition for nomad ethnoses there was always one very important task - to survive either by keeping united or by dividing into parts. In this context there is an understandable reason of extremely long historical consolidation of the nomadic ethnoses to one undivided ethnicity. Two branches of the ethno-political cultures were functioning, firstly, one of it was striving to reproduce a complex of clan's connections into practice of power relations. Secondly, another one was creating a system of certain action of people where the power relations were realised through a mechanism of establishing people's and state's institutions and connections.

Russian and Soviet state systems exerted very strong influences on the transformation and further development of the political culture of the Kyrgyz people. During the Russian domination a number of traditional institutes of a commune type feudal governance were kept alive. However, they were changed formally according to the requirement of a colonial administration. The Kyrgyz Khan's power also changed under the power of a Russian "White Tsar" (*ak padysha*). Democratic procedure of election had been gradually changed to an institution of governance where a representative of the government was appointed from outside. This long run practice was deeply rooted into the political consciousness and behaviour of the people, so that democratic traditions were forced out slowly or steadily and were finally replaced by authoritarian rules. The authority became the core of practice into power relations of the people and an organic basis of the political culture of the Kyrgyz society. Surprisingly, in order to counterbalance it, democratic clan traditions continued in every day life. Despite the authoritarian pressure, the communal and collectivist style of life was not forced out. Because, it became inalienable characteristic of the consciousness and behaviour of the people which specifically determined the national character and mentality. At the first stage of the Soviet power, there were attempts to reconstruct the democratic institutions. The practice of election of

governing bodies and men was again introduced in a changing life style. Obviously, for the first time in the history of the Kyrgyz people, an administrative and territorial demarcation started to break the traditional mechanism of the clan's and tribal division. Instead of clan's and tribal's democracy, there came into being the democracy of the "collectivist organisation" which was oriented towards an individual and building of the society. But a total supremacy of the state on the whole society which was characteristic of the Soviet system, again called out the authoritarian principles of the political culture. This political culture we can determine as democratic in form, but as an authoritarian in essence. The elections disguised the strong authoritarian system of governing of both the state and the society.

The transformation or *perestroika* in the USSR, had ushered in a process of democratic changes in the society. Moreover, the democratic changes coincided with the time of a process of a nation building of the sovereign states. That's why, the political and economic reforms in these countries were going on under a slogan of national and democratic revival. In this connection, one of the important moments was a contradictory combination and resistance of a democratic and authoritarian principles in the existing system of the political culture. In Kyrgyzstan too, as part of the democratic changes in the Republic, there appeared a lot of institutions and organisations. If we look at it attentively, it becomes obvious that authoritarian elements which were organically introduced into the political culture still continue to exert their influence. A man changes quite slowly than those institutions and processes he had created. A habit to "submit", but not "participate", or to be in the system of "subject" culture but not "citizenship" still keeps going on in the political consciousness and behaviour of a man. That's why, the democratic freedom realised by this kind of a man is an unlimited permissiveness and anarchy. A.I.Gertsen was right when he said, people should not get more freedom in every day life while they do not feel free from inside. Only this kind of freedom which is realised by a spiritual experience of a man and rational philosophy may be useful and viable. People who lived during a long time in the authoritarian system of the political culture did not have enough experience but still rationally they are using an

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“unexpected” democracy and freedom. Since ancient times, people came to understand very well that democracy in the form of direct people’s power often remains brief and unstable and is reborn into unbridled groups. And a struggle on the part of the people for power and property becomes strong that leads to tyranny and anarchy.

An analysis of Kyrgyz political life has demonstrated the increasing contradictions and conflicts in the struggle for power and property among different groups and clans. Moreover, these clans have been formed not on the basis of a new democratic struggle of political parties, but on specific regional and tribal basis. Obviously, the political culture coming out from a regional tendency and clan’s interests may be a very strong barrier for a consolidation of national consciousness and strengthening of institutions of state. In this connection, the political culture in the Republic is slowly, but rather definitely becoming like a situation in developing countries of the East.


At the moment, we can really determine a task of neutralisation of regionalism and clanish political culture influencing the consciousness and behaviour of the people. This neutralisation force might have political parties. The “collectivist” psychology of united people for expressing common interests should be reoriented from a regional and clan’s position to a political and party position. And parties themselves should direct their efforts on defence of national interests. In this case, regional and tribal components of the political culture will slowly but steadily be changed into a new wide civilian basis.

In the development of “citizenship” of the political culture, a significant role may be played to widen the national ideology which is rising from a national mentality. Thus, the image of legendary *Manas* is organically enrolling into an idea of a nation as well as unity of the nations. That’s why, it is rather a logical connection between civil and national ideologies and the *Manas*. The ideology as an open and renovated system could become a philosophical basis of the political culture of sovereign Kyrgyzstan. Obviously, the process of forcing out the authoritarian rules and democratisation of the political culture of our society will be a gross modification of the prevailing system.

A. Dononbaev

In this connection we may use the following recommendations:

- the political leadership in this transition period should work out a solid mechanism for democratic power and institutions by involving into it representatives of the civil society;
- the political leadership should assist to form and develop the political parties, as a necessary link between political state and the civil society;
- the state should give the rights and authorities to different groups of civil society on the basis of their experiences;
- being as an arbitrator, the state should provide the solution of conflicts of interest in the society through legal procedures in the institutes of public power to let them get into the political culture;
- it is extremely important in this transition period to have a strong and democratic state power in political sphere;
- the role of the state leader possessing “charisma”, is also significant.

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OZONE HOLES ABOVE CENTRAL ASIA

Sovetbek J. Toktomyshev
and
Vladimir K. Semyonov

INTRODUCTION

Investigation of earth's ozone layer occupies a special place in the global ecology which is caused by the influence of ultra-violet radiation on all forms of surface life. This problem is peculiar in the mountainous regions, where high transparency in the atmosphere of earth surface that receives more short-wave ultra-violet emission, ultimately leads to unfavourable biological action.

In 1985 there had been a spring reduction of ozone layer by above 30 percent over Antarctica which later came to be known as the ozone "hole" (Farman J. C., et al., 1985). In early 1990s there was an information about the origin of deep negative anomaly of ozone over the northern regions of Europe, Asia and America (Kerr J., et al.,1992). As the size and depth of such anomaly was smaller than Antarctica ozone hole and also they originated at the same time in several regions of northern hemisphere, they are called local ozone holes.

This study is based on the results of a research on the synchronizing measures of ozone, dioxide of nitrogen and the main hot bed gases CO₂, H₂O, UV radiation carried out at the Issyk Kul Kyrgyz State National University (KSNU) station for almost 20 years. On the basis of these results, it has become known for the first time that local ozone holes have lately been found over mountainous regions of Central Asia. Taking into account the geographical peculiarities (more than 1000 m height over the sea level), geophysical condition, development in the high transparency of atmosphere as well as the large number of population inhabiting many mountainous regions of Central Asia, it seems that the appearance of local ozone holes and increasing ultra-violet radiation on the earth surface can lead to the appearance of a new type of distress – ultra-violet catastrophe.

Issyk Kul station is situated on the north bank of lake Issyk Kul in northern Tien-Shan (42,62 N 77 E, 1640 m a.s.l.). Being one of the largest inter-mountainous hollows of Tien-Shan, Issyk Kul hollow is surrounded by high mountains (height 3.5-4.0 km), which prevent dirty air from accumulating in the pit. Since there are no large enterprises in the Issyk Kul, the results received from the station itself can be treated as the basic characteristics of the mountainous region of Central Asia. The station monitors the ozone, carbonic acid, water vapour and stratospheric dioxide of nitrogen and also measures the spectrum transparency of atmosphere. Significantly, Issyk Kul station is the only one of its kind in the continent of Asia, where CO₂ and H₂O have been monitored for 18 years and NO₂ for 15 years. General contents of ozone have been measured by many-waved spectrum- metrical method, based on absorption of ultra-violet emission in the interval of 305-315 nm. The data has been approved by the world ozone metrical scale which gave 2% of divergence (V.N. Aref'ev, et al., 1995).

MEASUREMENT RESULTS

Seasonal Measurement of Ozone (fig. 1)

During the changes in the ozone layer seasonal vibrations prevail with amplitude upto 20 % from annual average quantity. Various phases of seasonal measurements are defined by taking into consideration the maximum level of ozone layer in the months of January and April and the lowest level in August and November. Regular seasonal way in the first part of 80th has been broken lately.

Slow Variations of Ozone (fig. 2)

In slow changes of ozone layer over Kyrgyzstan, following peculiarities have been noticed :

1. During the last 18 years the average speed of depletion in ozone is found to be equal to 0.51% per year(dotted line), though depletion of ozone during short intervals differs from this mean (broken line). But this quantity differs from the speedy reduction of ozone in the middle latitude of northern hemisphere which is equal to 0.43 % per year mark in accordance with the World Meteorological Organization (WMO,1995).

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2. In slow changes of ozone, there are quasi-biennial-oscillation (QBO) during the period between 21 and 24 months with a gradual growing amplitude. In fig. 3, there is a comparison of results of total ozone measured at Issyk Kul station with the data received from other ozone-metrical stations of Central Asia. It shows an overlapping interval in the latitude from 38 to 50 degrees of northern latitude. It should be noted that synchronized appearance deeply falls through at all the stations during spring season. It testifies that observed anomalies are connected with the formation of local ozone holes, which cover all the regions of Central Asia.

Anomaly of ozone in the southern hemisphere exceeds by 30%, while at the outside border there is a horizontal gradient of 10 e.D. per 100 kms. Ozone hole in the southern hemisphere appears to be only in circumpolar vortex.

It is well known that changes in the contents of ozone depend on latitude as depletion takes place in the direction from higher to lower latitude. That's why usage of above-mentioned criteria of ozone hole for any region of planet is not enough to be justified. According to general-physical rules, any deflection measured by physical quantity when exceeding the level of three standard depletion (3σ), relates to anomalous. Using this rule to the changes of ozone we think that criteria of local ozone holes can serve such area in which contents of ozone reduce to the quantity exceeding three standard deviation (3σ) of natural variations of ozone in concrete place. This quantity depends on time of the year - it is maximum at the end of winter or at the beginning of spring and minimum in autumn. According to the figure for the changes, at the middle latitude of northern hemisphere in spring, total ozone $3\sigma = \pm 8\%$ (see Bojkov R.D., et al., 1990). That's why negative depletion while exceeding this level, is classified as local ozone holes.

LOCAL OZONE HOLES OVER CENTRAL ASIA

According to the results of the 18 years of ozone measurement at Issyk Kul station, monthly depletion (in percentage) of average quantity of ozone has been presented in fig. 4. Dotted line denotes the low level of 3σ . The first negative anomaly with 13% depth was registered in April

1985 over the area of northern Tien Shan. Then 14% was registered in April 1988, 13% in May 1990, 13% in April 1993 and 12% in March 1995, May 1995 and in May 1997. However, the last three differ from large duration. The most deepest negative depletion of anomaly was recorded as 15% in April 1997. According to absolute quantity, the above-mentioned anomalies with such phenomenon were observed over Europe (A. Kh. Khrgian, 1992). The results recorded were also matched with the results of satellite measurement of space distribution of ozone.

In fig. 5, there is a comparison of the ozone depletion at the Central Asian stations for a period from 1980 to 1995. Negative depletion which we refer to local ozone hole, has been observed at all stations with most deepest anomaly (20%) being at the beginning of 1993 at the Almaty station. At the same time, the first part of 90th anomaly was observed at the stations in Issyk Kul, Almaty and Karaganda. The first two stations are closer to each other, while the last one is 800 kms. apart. In March and April 1993 there were local ozone holes over Central Asia stretching up to 1000 kms. with their southern border over Pamir. This phenomenon was registered at the station in Dushanbe.

Let's consider some characteristics of the formation of local ozone holes over Central Asia during 1995-1997. An analysis of the satellite picture of the horizontal distribution of ozone on the northern hemisphere, has shown that in the first five days of January 1995 there was a depletion of 15-20% in the ozone over Siberia and Central Asia. The same situation continued from 10 to 12 January. A further loss of 40-50 % in the local ozone hole appeared on 14 January over the northern regions of Scandinavian and Kol peninsula. Migrating to Scadinavian and broadening towards south-eastern part, on 21 January it spread over the regions of Western and Central Asia and stayed there till 24 January. The map in figure 6a indicates the spread of ozone hole on 23 January 1995. Blue and yellow colours present in the figure show the size of local ozone holes with their center over Novosibirsk (yellow corresponds to deficit of ozone by 10% (3.7σ), and blue by 17% (6.3σ). Thus, the portion at the middle width represented in the figure 6a for the month of January by yellow and blue colours corresponds to local ozone holes.

OZONE HOLES ABOVE CENTRAL ASIA

Measurement taken at Issyk Kul station has shown that during the first three to five days except 17-18 January 1995, the contents of ozone was 11-14% less than its normal form, i.e. loss of ozone exceeded the level of σ 4-5 times. In the first part of February 1995 there were areas with slow mean of ozone with deficit of 10 %. It has been shown on the map for 7 February 1995 (fig.6b).

Two more examples of the formation of local ozone holes over Asian continent on 8 May 1995 are shown in figure 7. Ozone hole was found to have spread over the area from Tien Shan through mountains of Pamir to Himalaya (blue pulled spot). At the same time, in the southern part (violet spot) a wide ozone hole was found over the area of Indian ocean. A major area of local ozone hole was registered on 1 January 1996 over Asia, the deepest part of which is indicated in the figure as right circle (blue spot on the light blue background) was at Tien Shan and Pamir.

Let's now consider the formation of the local ozone hole over Central Asia. It is peculiar because the local ozone hole was found at the end of May or the beginning of June, i.e. during the spring time. On 29-30 May 1997, far beyond the north to the bank of North Arctic ocean was a large tide of tropical air, which contained a small amount of ozone. However, reduced content of ozone was found to have covered all over Central Asia, Western Siberia and southern part of Ural. Total ozone contents on the northern part of this tide was approximately 20% less than its normal level. Further, on 31 May there was trace of local ozone hole with its centre over Tomsk in Western Siberia (fig. 8). With an area of about 8 million sq. kms, the ozone content in this hole was 26 % below the normal level. We may say that in this case, the dynamic process of horizontal transfer of ozone tropical air was a photo-chemical process of destroying the ozone and increasing the content of chlorine in the atmosphere. On 1st June, the size of the hole increased sharply and covered large parts of not only Siberia and Central Asia but also northern parts of India and China. The depth of the hole over northern part of Siberia increased again by 10%, thus the loss of ozone reached 40 %. At the same time, total ozone content was 20% below the climatic norm over Tien Shan. After 1997, ozone layer over this region came to an

average level to be continued for many years.

To conclude, the above mentioned examples and other cases show that in the second part of the 1990s, the appearance of local ozone hole turned into a particular phenomenon. Taking into account this very phenomenon, it seems that each of the holes are accompanied with the burst of biologically active ultra-violet radiation on the surface of the earth and the duration of this burst can be of several days. It is therefore, necessary not only to investigate the reasons of the formation of such anomalous phenomenon, the consequences of which may lead to disasters, but also to regulate the forecasting mechanism as well as notify the affected population. This assumes importance for high mountainous atmosphere which slowly prevents the destructive UV-radiation. .

CONCLUSION

Monitoring of ozone layer and other active gases in atmosphere which was carried out at Issyk Kul station (KSNU) for so many years testifies that ozone layer over Kyrgyzstan from 1980 to 1997 depleted upto 9.2%. In 1990,1993,1995 and 1997 there had been anomalous depletion of ozone in several months and quantity increased by 4-5 times standard of the level of natural wave. We, therefore, assume that whenever the anomaly of ozone increases to the level of three standard depletion, it can be classified as local ozone hole.

Appearance of local ozone hole together with splashes of flow of ultra-violet sunny radiation continues for several days. The number of days increased with such anomaly and gradual displacement to the beginning of summer can be considered as appearance over the mountains of Asian region of a new ultra-violet disaster of 21st century. Ultra-violet catastrophe increases the risk of displacement of the natural zones of mountainous regions as well as causes the disruption of hydrological regime of rivers, formation and melting of ice, disruption of moisture supply regime in the land, besides being responsible for landslides, strong winds, fires, rains etc. The increased level of UV radiation is now becoming dangerous for the whole living beings on the earth.

OZONE HOLES ABOVE CENTRAL ASIA

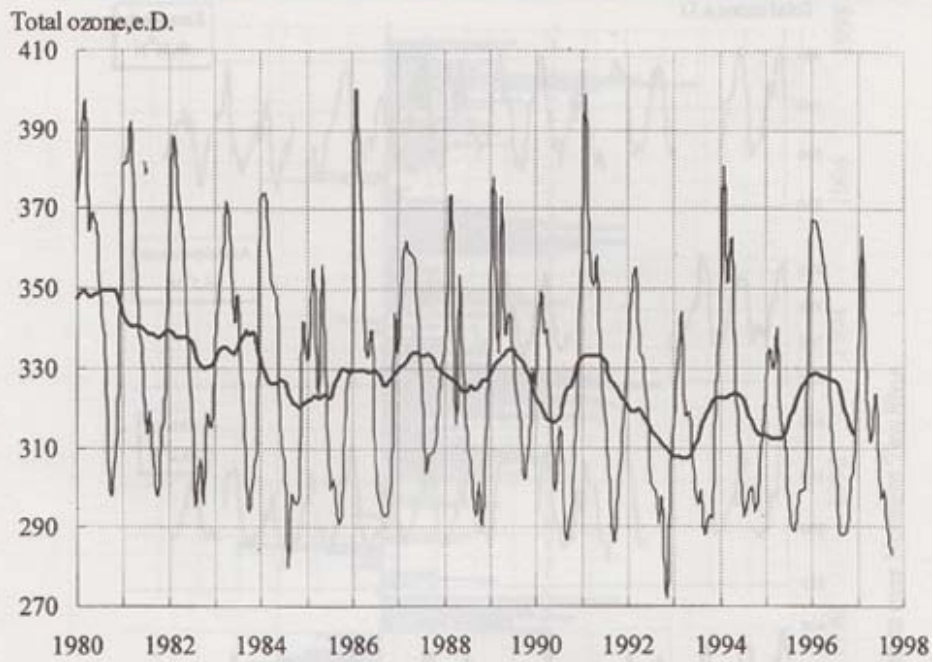


Fig.1. The monthly average atmospheric total ozone

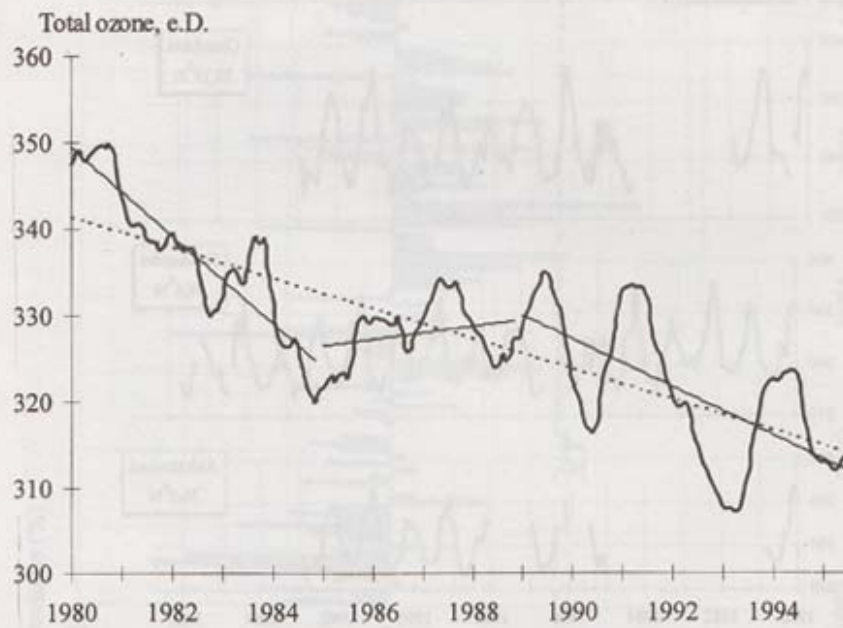


Fig.2. Total ozone trend over Northern Tien Shan

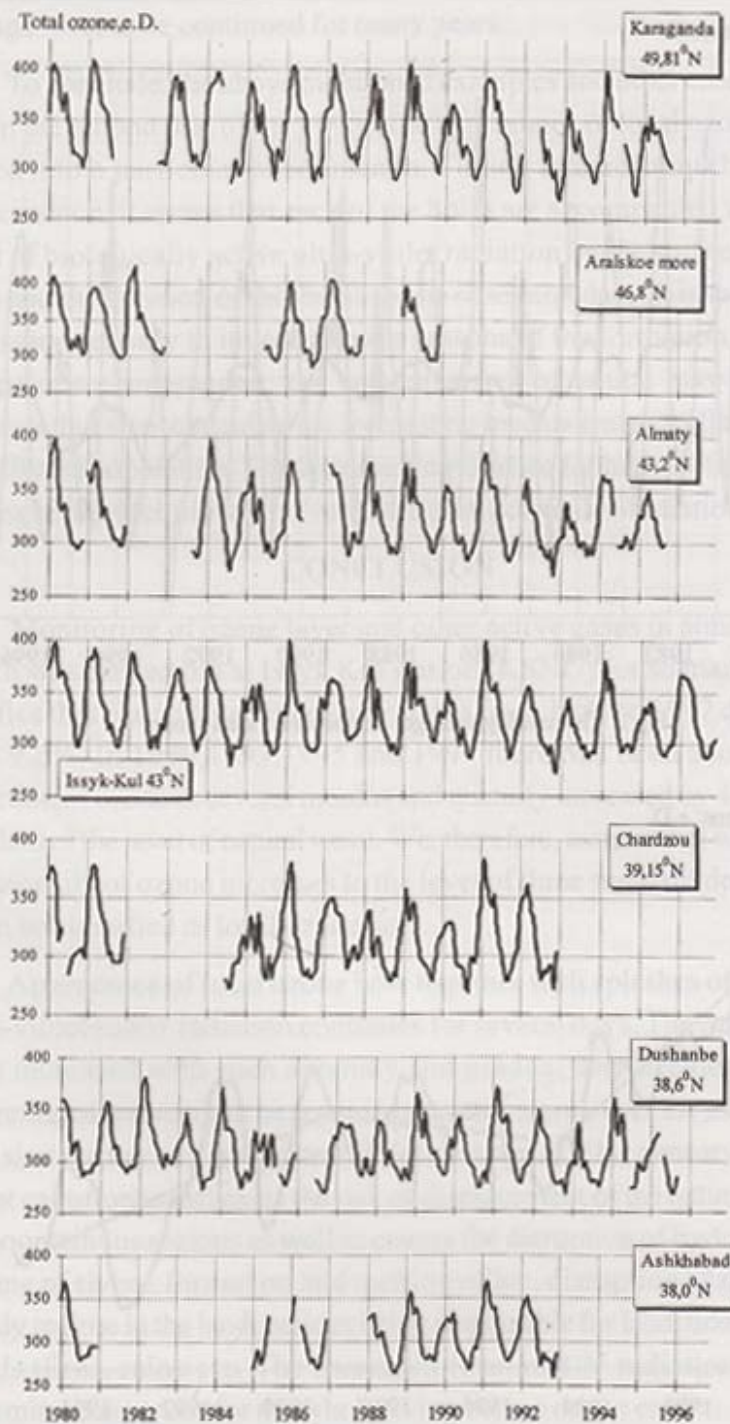


Fig.3. Ozone variations an Central Azia station.

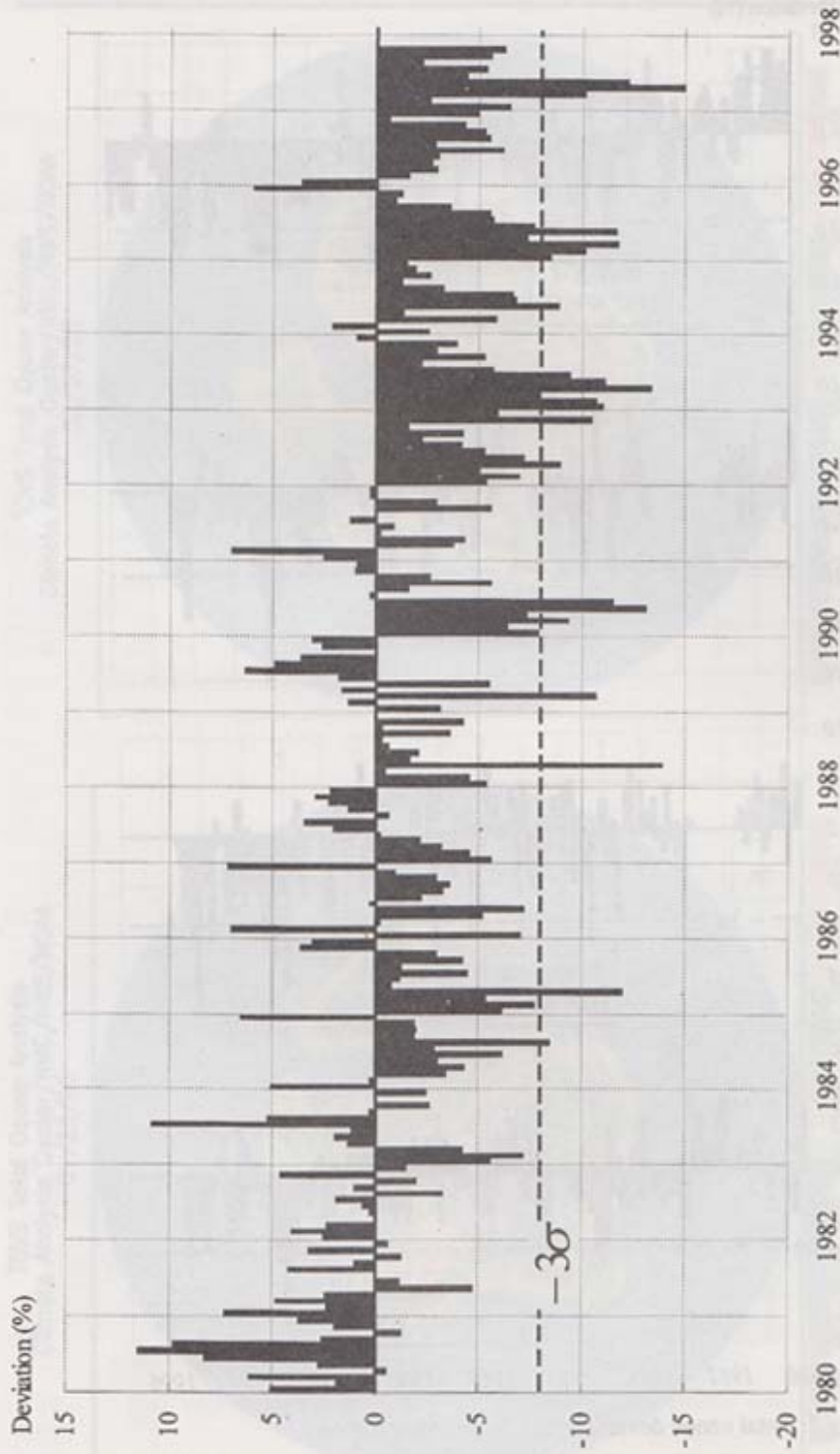


Fig.4. Total ozone deviations of monthly mean over Northen Tien Shan

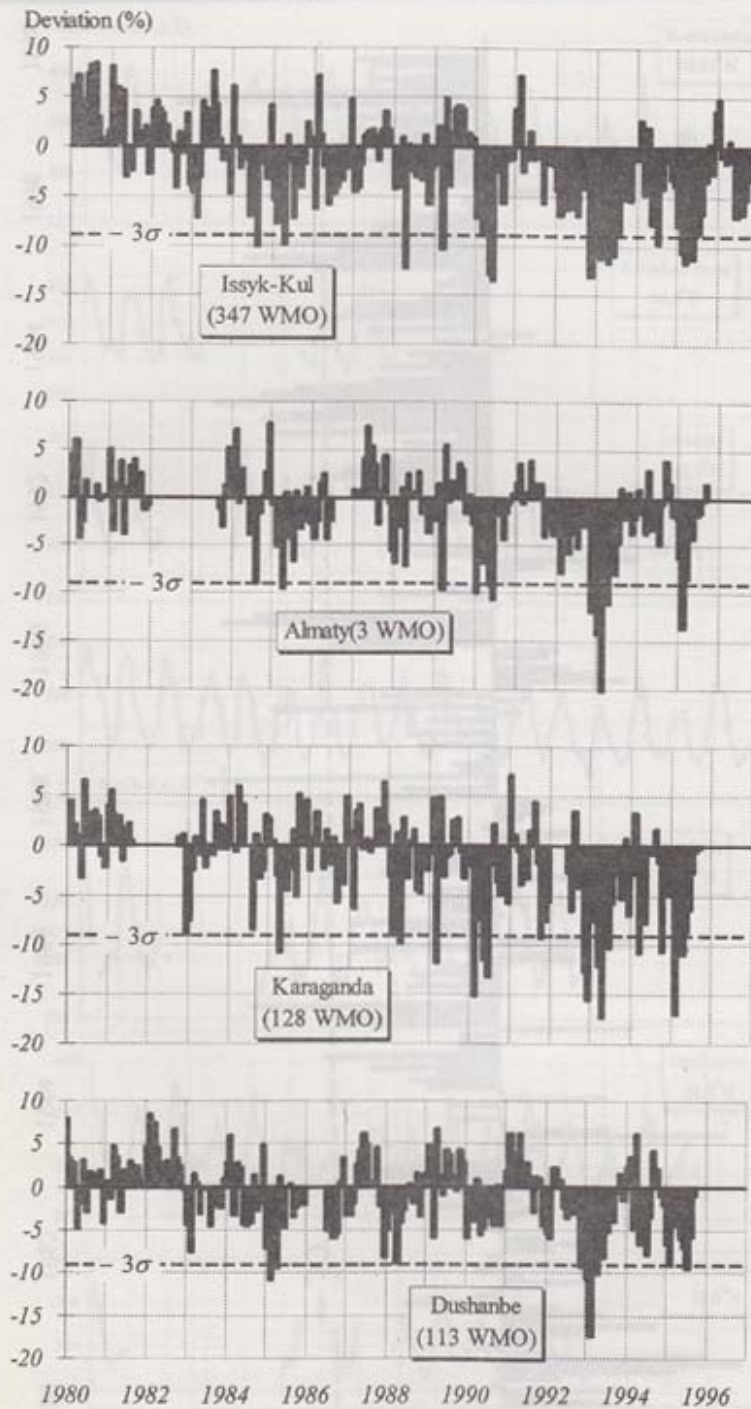


Fig.5. Total ozone deviations at Central Azia station/

OZONE HOLES ABOVE CENTRAL ASIA

TOVS Total Ozone Analysis
Climate Analysis Center/NMC/NWS/NOAA
02/07/95



TOVS Total Ozone Analysis
Climate Analysis Center/NMC/NWS/NOAA
01/23/95



Fig. 6

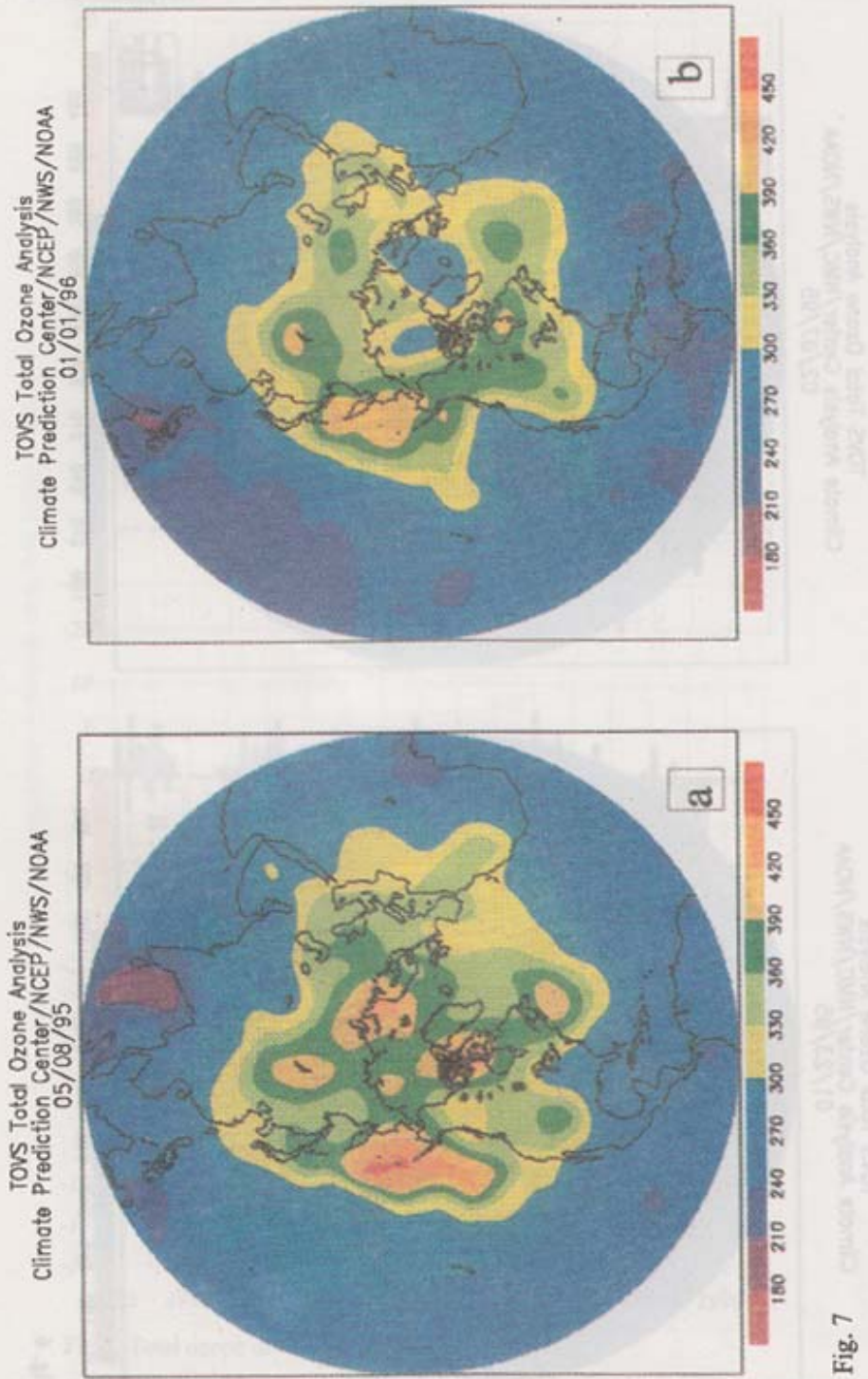
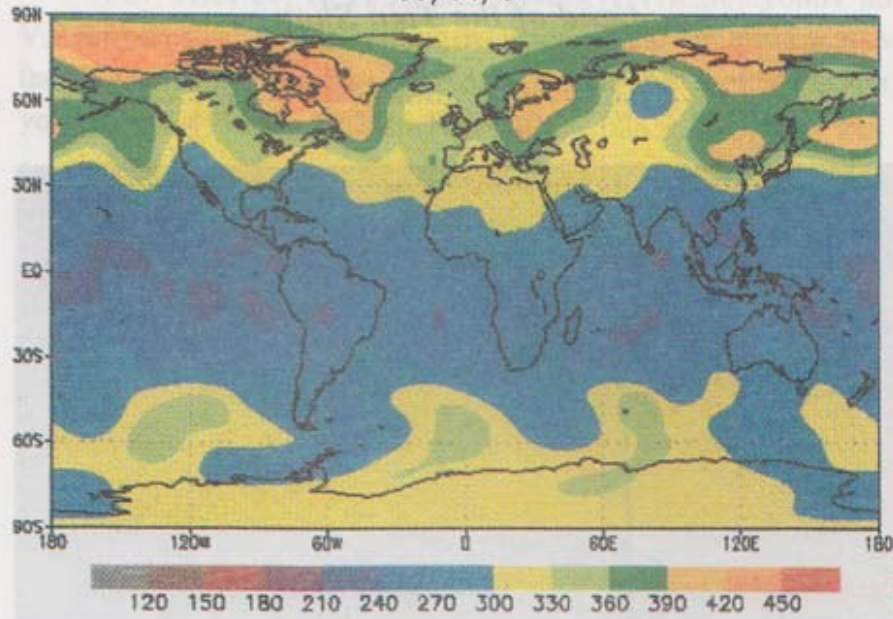


Fig. 7

OZONE HOLES ABOVE CENTRAL ASIA

TOVS Total Ozone Analysis (matm-cm)
Climate Prediction Center/NCEP/NWS/NOAA
05/31/97



TOVS Total Ozone Analysis (matm-cm)
Climate Prediction Center/NCEP/NWS/NOAA
06/01/97

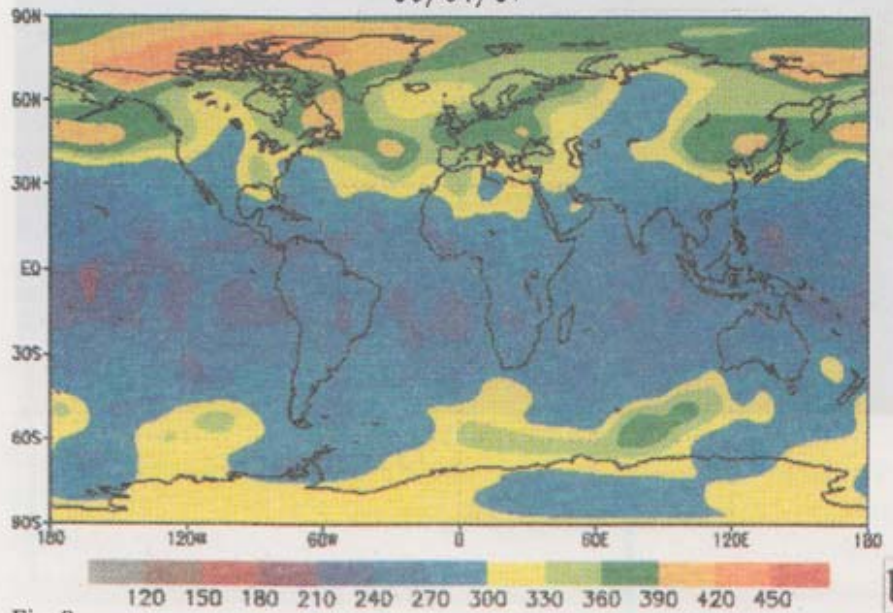


Fig. 8

Kyrgyzstan
Land of the Tien Shan



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ABOUT THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE MOUNTAINS

A. Kakeev

Askar Akaev, the Honorary Chairman of the International Committee for the organization of the international conference on “High Mountains Exploration : Changes and Perspectives of the XXI century” and the President of Kyrgyzstan had suggested the idea of declaring the International Year of Mountains. This idea was put before the members of UN General Assembly in 1997. During the presentation, Askar Akaev highlighted the fact that mountains are not only the geographical concept but also they influence socio-economic peculiarities of the mountainous country’s development.

However, the problem of mountains is versatile. I would like to share my thoughts and opinion by referring to the philosophical side of this multi-sided problem. My opinion is generally hypothetical, but I hope, it will be useful for evaluating the problem. My paper presents the hypothesis of the probable reasons for anthropoid verticalization in the mountains and rocky area as well as on the problems of natural factors of social development.

In fact, the idea of anthropoid verticalization was introduced by Academician M.M. Mirrahimov, the author of *Articles about Central Asian Mountainous Climate’s Influence on Human Organism*, Frunze, 1964; *Cardio-vascular System in the High Mountain Conditions*, Leningrad, 1968; *Humans and Mountains*, Moscow, 1978 and many other fundamental researches. I appreciate Mirrahimov’s support to the idea of the philosophy of mountains as well as the materials he provided, which played a crucial role in forming the base of our arguments about bio-physiological peculiarities of the high mountain’s adaptation. Mirrahimov thinks that the lack of oxygen, lower environmental temperature, high level of ultraviolet radiation, severe winds and complex terrain are the main peculiarities of mountainous climate. High Mountain exploration causes essential changes in the physiological functions of

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human organism, which are considered to be the adaptative changes. Physiological adaptative reactions of human organism include the changes in breathing and activity of cardiovascular system blood changes as haemoglobin and eritrocite level increase which cause the increase of blood capacity to seize more oxygen as well as molecular adaptation reactions and Q-heterochromatine's role in human genome.

While examining the problems of environment-organism interaction, Mirrahimov thinks that mountainous areas could be explored only by human beings possessing the adaptation capacity. Now we have to highlight the idea of the adaptation capacity of the mountainous people. We will apply this idea for examining the educational problems and mental peculiarities of Kyrgyz ethnic people and environmental peculiarities of mountains. Mirrahimov's assumption about the historical process of human verticalization is also important. He thinks that in ancient period the existence of struggle caused human beings and their families to migrate to the mountains. During such a migration, human beings frequently had to take vertical body position using first of all their fore extremities which helped them to keep the equilibrium. Therefore, anthropoid verticalization which turned the fore extremities into the tools of activity had played a crucial role in the process of humanization.

Mirrahimov's thoughts about bio-physiological peculiarities of mountain adaptation not only expand our ideas about probable reasons of anthropoid verticalisation but also make a significant contribution to the human origin and in particular, to the hypothesis about the transition to the straight vertical walking position in the rocky and mountainous areas.

Anthropologists who talk about human origin and use morphological data, usually highlight three basic differences between the hominid family and primate family. These differences are : a) straight vertical walking position, b) free upper extremity and c) developed brain.¹ In characterizing the early stages of hominization, geographical premises are also taken into consideration. In this regard, the existing points of view can be divided into two hypothetical groups: a) the transition to the straight vertical walking position took place at mountainous rocky area; and b) the transition from wood to wood- free terrain.²

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The first hypothesis using the materials of Central Asian expeditions was introduced by P.P. Sushkin in 1928, followed by A.A. Borisov and proved by R. Andrews. P.P. Alekseev wrote: “Rocky mountainous landscape with narrow river valleys having high altitude above the sea level and intermitted by the vast steppes are the prevailing peculiarity of Central Asia’s geography”. Aridity of the climate has also been an important feature of differentiation. High primates inhabiting the mountainous areas, have been characterized by ground movement without any trace of brachiation but using all four extremities for moving. The necessity to lift the body on the hind legs for careful terrain analysis from behind the stones, and the transition to the straight vertical body position for mountaineering served as the premise for the survival of human beings with the capacity to keep themselves vertically straight for a long time. P.P. Sushkin considered mountaineering to be the functional acquisition, which became the premise for the transition to the straight vertical body position and getting hand free from the support (fulcrum) position.³

In 1927, American anthropologist, A. Grdlichka traced the existence of Neanderthal stage in the human evolution. This proposition has been confirmed by further research in the area. One of the brilliant examples has been the finding of paleonthrop’s skeleton in Teshik-Tash cave in Central Asia.⁴ On many occasions it was a proven idea that paleonthrops expansion took place in all the continents. History reveals that the first human traces on the territory of Kyrgyzstan refer to the Paleolithic period. The Mesolithic period has been characterized by the invention of a bow and an arrow. However, the first drawings of animals are said to be made in Ak-Chunkur cave in Issyk Kul region. Human beings of Neolithic period made further progress by domesticating wild animals and cultivating eatable plants, thus making a basis for agriculture and cattle breeding.

As regards the Homo Sapiens’ place of origin, we should note here that the hypothesis of monocentrism was the first to have appeared in literature. Then came the theory of polycentrism (F. Waidenraich’s theory) followed by Roginsky’s theory of broad polycentrism including such places as Northern Africa, East Mediterranean region, Caucasus, Central and Southern Asia as the probable places of Homo Sapiens’ origin.

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Examining all these, the fact remains that the unity between human diversity and the species formed the basis for the development of civilization. Taking all these into consideration, I would also like to note one more serious adaptation problem.

L.N.Gumilev, the famous ethnic researcher was the first to scientifically formulate an important theory. According to this theory, the humanity, though united in its origins differentiated into many ethnic groups and many cultural traditions through the process of adaptation in different climatic conditions. Further, Gumilev makes two important points: (a) geographical environment does not define the social trends, but it essentially influences people's life by accelerating or slowing down the development of ethnic groups, and (b) ethnic groups, in geographical sense, are groups of alike beings who adapted to the landscape according to their own needs. Ethnic group is neither the biological event nor the social one. He considers ethnic group to be the geographical event as it is always connected with the landscape in nurturing itself. The diversity of landscapes defines the diversity of ethnic groups. We must note that many scientists have introduced the same theories about geographical aspect of human development in many countries of the world. However, some of them exaggerated the significance of the theory. Obviously, we should not deny the importance of the environmental role in the social development process as a permanent and necessary condition, the influence of which is impossible to avoid. In the 18th century, Charles Montesque was the first to pay close attention to the problem like this. He wrote: "a country having fertile soil develops the spirit of dependence. Fruitful countries usually develop their monopoly while fruitless ones remain under the power of several people. Fruitless soil of Attic increased the power of people but fertile Lakedaemon land developed aristocracy." Montesque's idea was that "mountain people first of all want democracy while valley inhabitants vote for the aristocratic power". His other important ideas are that mountain people prefer moderate sort of power and freedom is the only good way to defend themselves. Valley countries are characterized by the spirit of the dependence, but the spirit of freedom usually spreads through the mountainous countries. Moreover, it is difficult

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for the valley countries to defend from the invasion of more powerful enemy and so they exercise more strict style of power. On the other hand, mountainous country is more easy to defend and very difficult to attack.

These concepts of Montesque lead to an interesting idea connected with the peculiarities of new independent states. Central Asia emerged after the dissolution of the former Soviet Union. The Central Asian countries which are characterized by valley and steppe landscape, tend to exercise monopolistic style of power even though democratic principles are there. But Kyrgyzstan, as many foreign experts note, tends to exercise “moderate style of power”. On the one hand, the country seems to be defined by mountainous conditions and on the other, by the nomadic traditions. Though some newspaper articles demand strict and near totalitarian style of governmental leadership, we are of the opinion that Kyrgyzstan does not need to have more strict power style. The view presented in the media seems to be connected with the “strong arm” nostalgia. Such points of view contradict the democratic principles as well as traditions of mountain people. Now I would like to highlight two important aspects of the mountains philosophy. In particular, such ideas are advanced in the works of Aueshan Kodar’s *Nomad’s World Outlook in the Light of Steppe Knowledge* and Janat Baimuhamedov’s *Intellectual Nomad in Modern West Philosophy*.⁵

In an article J. Basimuhametov points out that discussions on nomadic intellectual strategies acquire significance in the modern Western philosophy which stops the ideas of compatriots of Sh. Monteske and of psychologists like Djil Deleza and Felix Gwatary who in 1980 in Paris established “Treaty about Nomadism” within the limits of their works *Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Delz and Gwatary regard the feature of nomad as “a kind of lively and decentralized flow”, incarnating “vizomatic multitude”. *Rizoma* is a certain net structure.⁶ Examining separate problems of nomad consciousness connected with mountains, the idea of net structure directs at interesting thought. If we consider conclusions made by the authors, named below, comfortably to conditions in Kyrgyzstan, we see an interesting picture. The question is about two ideas : the first is decentralization and the second is the net structure.

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Evidently, subjectivity of nomads is connected with nomad structure as a decentralized net structure, which is conditioned by nature of mountains in particular. From those two positions, if we perceive both the past and future of Kyrgyzstan, it is not difficult to find out that its territory is composed of separate regions which are like cups or locked. And people say “Golden Cup of Issyk Kul”, “Djungal”, “Toguz-Toro”, “Chatkal”, “Ala Buka” and so on. There are more thoughts given by Sh. Monteskie about open steppes whose occurrence is related to two valleys - Chui and Fergana. In contrast, other “Golden cups” are not locked, but open to steppes. These two valleys belong to the main golden valley through which interaction of mountains and steppes takes place. Indeed, in the first place, they are centre point of all economic, cultural and political interaction. And here was the Great Silk Road. As regards “Golden Cups”, now they are drawn into a unified economic, trade, cultural and information network to compose one state. In this case, it is an attempt to promote ideas of decentralisation. Moreover, political centres and separation of one or the other region off the Republic as proposed by some deputies and scientists is not only reasonable but also directed to soften the structure of the new forming state.

Nomad type of life connected with mountains may be considered as specific type of complex and a self-organizing evolution system i.e. “human and mountain”. Mountains are not only a necessary condition for nomad’s life, but according to definition of Sh. Monteskie they also influence the forms of management as well as the thinking process of the nomad. According to the theory of systems, nomad society settled in mountains may include autonomous elements as a separate community in “Gold Cups”. At the same time it can be a part of another system or network structure. For example, ethnic or super-ethnic such as Turk or more wide society such as Soviet people had unlimited access to various forms of communication carried out at all levels.

It is but natural that objective process of interaction between ethnic groups living in mountains and plains and considered as system, ultimately causes not only development of each autonomous element of the whole system, but also strengthens it as a whole complex system in different

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parts of Asia and Europe. Therefore, the whole humanity can be a part of open system as proposed by George Soros.⁷ It should also be noted here that the development of mountain nomad lifestyle is interconnected with environment, to which it has to adapt. In mountainous conditions, a human being in order to survive has to adapt continuously permanent changing conditions, beginning from season of a particular year to a climate that differs from the continental climate. This peculiarity in certain level, lies in the original spiritual culture of Kyrgyz people, adapting fast from their immediate changing mountain conditions, but social conditions as well. Most researchers, primarily Russian ones, highly appreciate cognitive abilities of Kyrgyz people. So, one of the fundamental works reads : “Kyrgyz people are endowed with intellectual abilities and so it is not difficult for them to study, but till now huge number of them are uneducated. Ability to get external impression, particularly in remembering the events, the nature of Kyrgyz people is significant....”⁸ The thing is that mountains are supposed to determine the necessity of fast adaptation to survive in severe mountain conditions. Such conditions require “effective mobility” of a nomad, who has to work out his own way of adaptation, while being in permanent movement and in search of best possibilities, especially search of best pastures for cattle. We can say with confidence that intellectual ability of the naturally endowed Kyrgyz people is not a specific feature of their thinking, but it is pre-determined by their mountain conditions. The intellectual abilities of Kyrgyz people can be seen in their fast adaptation to changed social conditions. For example, fast learning of cultivation methods, adherence to different cultures, science, classical art and literature, language and free market relations.

Together with that, process of assimilation with other people of different nationalities also plays an important role. As historically it has been confirmed that way back Kyrgyz people had been under permanent influence of the greatest civilizations of East and West and North and South. This is clearly seen in the history of spiritual life of the Kyrgyz people, which was influenced by religious and philosophical systems such as, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, social-democrats,

Marxism and democrats. On the whole, inspite of these influences, spiritual culture of Kyrgyz people has not yet lost its originality.

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PROBLEMS AND WAYS OF PROVIDING HUMAN ACTIVITIES IN THE MOUNTAINS OF CENTRAL ASIA

A.A. Aidaraliev

According to the information of the working team of the Commission for Stable Development (CSD), UN (1995), mountains cover one fifth of the earth's surface and contain not less than 10 percent of the world population, mainly poor population. The Commission acknowledges that mountainous ecosystems and social environment of the mountainous regions have an important meaning for the development of world societies in the 21st century as the richest and unique centres of biological and cultural diversity with plenty of hydroenergetic and mineral resources.

Mountainous regions or countries while being a forceful source of providing life activities to the modern people and the progress of civilization, also create extreme geotectonic, ecological weather-climatic situations and catastrophes. Mountainous ecosystems are very complicated, fragile and unique in geomorphological aspect, besides sensibly reacting on the global changes of climate and antropogenetic influence. With increasing socio-economic importance of mountains, degradation of resources including economic and political is also taking place, thereby leaving the mountainous societies in a sorry state.

World society's attention to the global problems of the mountainous territories would help a lot in the coordination and adoption of the corresponding program for the collective and preventive actions to be taken in many ways. This would allow to provide a stable development of mountains which in turn would leave positive influence on the progress of humanity, neutralize and decrease the negative consequences of the climatic cataclysms, imbalance of eco-system and also promote economical and cultural development of mountainous nations and countries.

The Information Center of International Mountainous Complex Development (ICIMOD, 1997) informs us about the negative social,

economic and ecological situation in mountainous massifs of North and Central Asia as well as Ural and Caucasus: poverty, depopulation, degradation of eco-environment and resources, loss of ethno-cultural traditions, ethnic strain, conflicts etc. Due to the negative tendencies of mountainous territories development, which are not very indifferent to the humanity, it is necessary to attract attention of the world populace, state, regional and sub-regional scientific centres, public organizations, press, television, and other means of mass communication to the critical global dilemma raised in the past decades. It is also necessary on the one hand, to elaborate conceptions, programs, projects for the successful and progressive economic, ethnic, and cultural development of mountainous regions; and on the other hand, to preserve the mountainous ecological environment and resources which experience the increasing, even catastrophic anthropogenetic pressure.

As socio-economic exploitation of mountainous regions will further continue to increase, more essential changes in the ecological environment and resources are expected. This implies a necessity for elaborating methods and ways of providing a stable balance between the strategy of ecological environment protection and socio-economic programs of mountainous regions' development. The stable development of mountainous regions with its global influence on climate of the planet as well as hydroenergetic and raw material resources, in many ways will determine the tendencies of the world society's development. These tasks are especially critical for the new Independent States of Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan). According to the data of the Asian Pacific Mountainous Net (APMN), the negative tendencies of development are strongly emphasised, where overcoming the difficulties of political system and progress is impossible without elaborating the complex problems for the development of mountainous territories.

These complex problems, projects and elaboration of stable mountainous development are now possible to be worked out thanks to the efforts of specialists from different fields of human knowledge. Historically formed societies of mountainous landscapes, exploitation

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(cattle breeding) and intensive use of mountain resources during Soviet period, that is social and anthropogenic pressure on the environment of inhabitation determine further trends of the mountainous development in Central Asia and, consequently, the strategy for the actions of Central Asian society. Linguistic and cultural similarity of ethnic formation in the united Turkic super-ethnos determines a common development of spiritual and mental priority strategy, which consequently, but inevitably reflects upon the forms and directions for stable development of mountainous countries.

In five historically formed large cities of Central Asia (Bishkek, Almaty, Tashkent, Dushanbe, Ashkabad), there are now many scientific centres involved in studying geosphere, biosphere, ethnosphere, history, economics and culture of Central Asia. These centres having solid connections among themselves are united by the linguistic unity (Turkic and Russian languages) as well as methodical and methodological principles of researches. In fact, Central Asian research centers have prepared elaborate elements for coordination and interaction in the common program and projects for stable mountainous development.

Understanding the geospherical, historical, ethnic, economic and social community of Central Asian mountainous regions will help reveal the problems, determine priorities, create short and long-term plans of work, besides collecting information about the most important mountain problems and analysing their successes and failures as well as executing programs and projects in order to bring profit to mountainous nations and to the environment of their inhabitation.

The main directions for study of Central Asian mountain systems are as follows:

1. Geo-morphology, geo-tectonics, seismology, mineral resources—strategy of their uses and influence on the development of economy and eco-environment. Programs for mountain catastrophes, cataclysm forecasting and projects of preventing such catastrophes;
2. Water resources—strategy for preservation, distribution and protection;

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3. Hydroenergy of Central Asian region—study, rational regional and global use, projects, programs for preservation, resumption and protection;
4. Territories, soils, pasture forests; Biodiversity of flora and fauna of Central Asia—strategy, influence on the environment;
5. Economics of mineral, hydroenergetic, biological resources use—regional, subregional and international programs. Strategy, influence on the environment;
6. Human conditions in mountain environment—study of adaptation, evaluation and prognosis of the functional conditions in extreme conditions of mountainous environment. Programs for preservation and protection of mountaineers, shepherds and health of miners. Providing and preservation of work effectiveness and life activities of shepherds, miners and migrants in high altitude;
7. Ethnos, language, culture of mountainous territories and population—programs for preservation, protection and contribution to the development of world society civilization;
8. Organization and development of regional, sub-regional information nets for problem of mountainous development—establishment and development of connections with international information services like ICIMOD, Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation (India), Mountain Forum, International Mountain Network and others for the stable mountainous development .

Scientists from Central Asia will have to take initiative in helping out the governments of the mountainous countries to realize national policy on mountainous territory development, which is being carried out, but unfortunately not in many countries (Switzerland, Austria, India, Pakistan and Nepal).

In order to attract attention of public as well as governments, politicians, sponsors and specialists towards the stable development of mountainous region, it is required to make assessment of the critical problem of adaptation and preservation of work efficiency, besides providing vital human activities in extreme conditions of high altitude. In fact, this problem is rising mainly because of more broad socio-economic

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exploitation of mountains and also due to increased migration of people to the mountains.

The problem of providing vital human activities in mountains can be solved by using the services of physicians, physiologists and others. They have already decided a range of important questions such as the essence of geophysical effects and factors of mountainous environment on organism, evaluation and prognosis of functional states in high altitude, hygiene of labour and salary rates, ration for miners and other relevant questions. As a specialist, I also dwell on some results and unsolved questions related to this area : “One of the main problem of ecological physiology is to provide normal vital human activities and work efficiency in a new, more widely developed and, as a rule, in extreme conditions of environment (high altitude, depth of ocean, aviation and space, arctic, antarctic, super loading in sports and others)” [See *Textbook for human physiology in High Altitude Conditions*, Moscow, 1987].

The problems of providing normal vital human activities in high altitude can be determined by the fact that the most important national economic tasks of the Republic - industrial exploitation of mountainous regions (94% of its territory) and cattle breeding - are solved by attracting major groups of people, either moving to the mountains, or working there in different shifts or migration modes. Besides, the adaptation of an individual to the extreme condition of mountain environment, often develops unfavorably due to the shortage of oxygen in the atmosphere, cold, harsh steep fall in daily temperatures, high level of ultra-violet radiation, natural radiation and ionization of air and other such conditions.

Outside people suddenly get exposed to various problems like harsh or chronic mountainous sickness, edema of brains or lungs, harsh heart or kidney deficiency, dysfunction of nerve and mental activities. On the height of 3500 meters or even higher, there begins destruction of internal structures and intoxication of organism which is difficult to be restored in mountainous conditions. In particular, the problem of reduction of physical and mental activities is more severe as one goes to the higher altitude.

In such an extreme condition, the successful human adaptation together with his health and work efficiency in many ways depends on

medical and biological life activities, including few important practical questions such as, elaboration and application of adequate methods of intensity and difficulty in work evaluation, reliable methods of current and future functional evaluation, and, on this basis, prognosis and selection of efficient groups, and also, settling of social and economic compensation.

The basis for solving all these problems has served the whole theory of adaptation, and also, fundamental works for regulation, systemic biochemical and molecular mechanisms of the adaptation and work efficiency, reasons of fatigue and origins of pathology and evaluation and prognosis of functional states in hypoxia of the mountains (Aidaraliev, 1979, 1980, 1984; Yakovlev, 1994; Shanazarov, Chernook, 1994-1997, 1996; Mambetaliev, 1986, 1990).

Learning upon the famous and tested systems of functional reserves evaluation (Astrand, 1952; Karpman, 1980; Vaevsky, 1978; Arinchin, 1978 and others) that suffer from one-sided orientation to the condition of separate systems, we had proposed the conception of “hierarchy” of separate physiological systems of organism adaptation approach and interchange of the adaptation functions as well as their importance for adjusting the force of interaction between the systems.

In this connection, the task of creating a complex and reliable method of evaluation and prognosis was undertaken and completed. This method would organically unite all the values of many tested “one-system” samples and test method to consider the “hierarchy”, the interaction of the systems, or intersystem links, which is sufficiently informative and suitable for the selection of contingents of people able to work in the Alpine conditions.

The examining of large contingents of different professional miners, on the different altitudes, in different periods of shift and migration, estimation of prognostic potentialities of separate functional samples (cold, hypoxia, step-test, veloergometria etc.), defining the possibilities of using variation pulsometry of R.H. Vaevsky (1976), of dividing the examined into three types of cardiac-vascular regulation according to

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N.I.Arinchin (1978), omega-potential and psycho-emotional sphere according to the questionnaire of Kattel, and also mathematical intercommunication of methods and tests into the whole with the help of “correlation Plead”, enabled to ascertain, that prognostic importance of separate tests, samples and physiological parameters are not high, because the “weak” adaptation possibilities, revealed with the help of one sample, combine with the “strong” adaptive reserves, registered by other tests.

With a purpose of working out actual recommendations for the shift regimes of work and prophylaxis of migration consequences, the integral method of evaluation and prognosis of work efficiency have been perfected by the means of registration of the functional polymorphism of neural system as well as regulating and coordinating the functions of human organism in the process of work. It has thus enabled to register a very precise accuracy of the degree of tiredness and the levels of work productivity at any regimes of work in mountains. It also became possible to explain the mechanism and dynamics of work efficiency reduction, in order to show that the lowering of the maximal *aerobe* work efficiency at the migration and shifts, in contradistinction to the work in the ordinary conditions, is not compensated with motivational and emotional mental compound. On this basis a postulate was formulated about the chronicle disrecreation of the miners organism functions and the presence of the residual phenomena of fatigue at the beginning of the next shift. The result was that the period of working in the protracts and productivity reduced (A.A.Aldasheva, T.V.Chernook, M.Y.Glushkova, 1992).

Development and perfection of the complex system of the intensity and difficulty of work quantitative merit during migration, registration of consequences of disrecreation and reduction of productivity have enabled to work out practical measures for optimization of the migration regimes of work as well as prophylaxis and correction of physiological consequences of migration (T.V.Chernook and others 1994). It was suggested that the degree of the environmental discomfort with the quantitative estimation of the intensity and difficulty of work should be taken into consideration. Bioclimatic index of meteoregimes severity was

taken as a criterion of discomfort. (A.S.Shunazarov, T.V.Chernook, M.Y.Glushkova and others, 1994). On the basis of the index, for the first time, a map of the bioclimatic zones of the Republic, was created where the zones of comfort, relative comfort, compensative discomfort and discompensative are clearly marked out (A.S.Shanazarov, T.V.Chernook and others, 1995). It enables distinctively to evaluate the work expenses (and, consequently compensations) in various mountainous regions.

The complex method of evaluation and prognosis of the functional condition worked out by us have been successfully used and modified for the sports purposes, including its use by the group of sport, forecast (Dr. V.M.Yakovlev), in a valley or in Alpine, during the training of marathon runners of the USSR scratch team, and the Olympic scratch team of the USSR to the XXII Olympic Games in Moscow (1979-1980) and during the training of the USSR scratch team in high jumps (1983-1987).

Geophysical factors of the Alpine (lack of oxygen, cold, daily steep fall in temperatures, high levels of ultra-violet emission, radiation and others) and physiological potentials of organism increase the intensity and difficulty of work. Significantly, it changes the cellular and tissue exchange and raises expenses of energy for accomplishing the work and for the structural providing of adaptation. As a result, digestion and assimilation of food gets hampered and instead unoxidized and underoxidized products of metabolism get accumulated. Even quality and quantity needs of organism in different meal products are changing. That is why, the necessary link of the complex and physiological protection of a human being during the influence of extreme conditions of the environment on his organism in particular Alpine, must be a special meal. The group of authors (A.C.Shanazarov, T.V. Chernook, V.M. Glushkova and others) by the order of Gosconcern "Kyrgyz Altyn" and Kumtor Operating Company, after the complex examination of the regimes and difficulty of work, and also hygiene and ration of meal in the gold mining enterprises of the Republic(1992-1995), worked out the recommendations: "Psychological grounding of the meal normative in

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Alpine”- Bishkek, 1997. They recommended not only the calculated means of daily expenses (and, accordingly energy cost of the meal rations), at different levels of difficulties of the miners at work on different altitudes, but also favoured compensation and constant rations.

Inspite of the significant successes in the field of providing vital activity of a human being in Alpine conditions, we have yet to resolve a range of important problems connected with differential altitude, time and professional differences of physical and mental work in mountains. But there is no doubt that the collective efforts of Central Asian scientists will successfully resolve these problems in the years to come.

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